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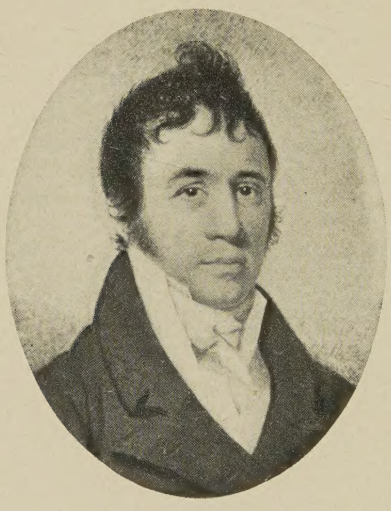

DR. LYMAN SPALDING

DR. LYMAN SPALDING

THE ORIGINATOR OF THE UNITED STATES PHARMACOPŒIA

CO-LABORER WITH DR. NATHAN SMITH IN THE FOUNDING OF THE DARTMOUTH MEDICAL SCHOOL AND ITS FIRST CHEMICAL LECTURER;

PRESIDENT AND PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY AND SURGERY OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT, AT FAIRFIELD, N. Y.

BY HIS GRANDSON
DR. JAMES ALFRED SPALDING

BOSTON
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1916

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To the Memory of

MY FATHER

who would have been pleased to know
as much about his illustrious
Father as time has at
last enabled me
to discover

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HOW THIS HAPPENED TO BE WRITTEN.

When my father, Lyman Dyer Spalding, was a boy of eleven (1821) his father, Dr. Lyman Spalding, died, leaving to his widow, Elizabeth Coues Spalding, all of his papers. When she died in 1838, they were laid aside by his eldest daughter, Miss Elizabeth Parkhurst Spalding, and after her death they fell into the hands of Pay Director Joseph Foster U.S.N., Rear Admiral Retired, a son of Mrs. Adelaide Spalding Foster, the last surviving child of Dr. Spalding. Eight years ago he gave me these ancient documents to look over, and, on unfolding them, I found a treasure for illuminating American Medical History in the form of letters to my Grandfather from the leading physicians of his time.

I now propose to print a selection from these papers in order to show what part Dr. Spalding took in the advancement of American medicine. Much to my regret, none of his own letters have been discovered, but I have before me a few copies of those which were probably sent to various friends. Interweaving these, with anecdotes of their writers and of the chief personages named therein, I propose to recall to memory the career of a distinguished man in medicine. An occasional abruptness in the narrative depends upon my inability to discover after so long a lapse of time the missing links of the story, or upon the interruptions of medical practice.

Grateful thanks are due to Lieutenant Colonel Walter C. McCaw, U.S.A., of the Surgeon General's Library, to Mrs. R. M. Thompson of the Boston Medical Library, to Mr. John S. Brownne, Librarian of the New York Academy of Medicine, for much assistance in reconstructing the lives of the personages of this story; to Mrs. Emily A. Smith of Baltimore for anecdotes concerning Dr. Nathan Smith, to Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck of Boston for letters from Dr. Spalding to his Grandfather, Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, to Rear Admiral Foster for many hints on family history and to Dr. Walter L. Burrage of Boston who with great patience reviewed my MSS and suggested many improvements.

The Author.

Portland, Maine,
August, 1916.

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LIFE OF DR. LYMAN SPALDING

CHAPTER I.

Family Notes and Early Years.

Lyman Spalding, later on to become a Doctor of Medicine, Lecturer on Chemistry and Materia Medica at the Dartmouth Medical School, President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York, and Originator of the United States Pharmacopœia, was born in Cornish, New Hampshire, June 5, 1775. His father, Dyer Spalding, was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, November 14, 1732, and was a descendant in the fourth generation from Edward Spalding, who is supposed to have come from England to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. When that settlement was destroyed by the Indians, Edward removed to Braintree, Massachusetts, where he is first recorded as a citizen in 1640. Dyer Spalding was a soldier and officer in the Colonial Wars, a friend of General Israel Putnam in whose Rangers he served, and he had from George I. a commission, which I recall as a tattered parchment in my youthful days. He moved to Cornish in 1766 in company with Moses and Samuel Chase, who after the Township had been granted to Reverend Samuel McClintock of Greenland, New Hampshire, called it Cornish, in honor of Cornwall, whence the Chases had emigrated to America. After preempting land with Thomas Wilson of Plainfield, who had married his sister, Lois, Dyer Spalding returned to Connecticut and married March 11, 1767, Elizabeth Cady Parkhurst, daughter of Timothy and Elizabeth Cady Parkhurst of Plainfield. Of my great grandmother I only know that she was born July 7, 1734, was an excellent housewife, brought to her husband three children and died June 3, 1816, aged 82.

The Spaldings returned to Cornish on their honeymoon, and lived there quietly until the Revolution, when Dyer

took an active part in Town affairs. Twice during the War he served as Quartermaster, and was present at Ticonderoga and Saratoga. He was entitled "Major" and later "Colonel" after serving as Lieutenant Colonel in the XV Regiment of New Hampshire Militia in 1788. He helped to found Trinity Parish in Cornish, often served as lay reader in the Church in the absence of the Rector, and accumulated a little money, leaving at his death some $4000 and an arable farm of 500 acres. He lived to be 82, dying April 27, 1814.

Cornish has always borne a celebrated name amongst New Hampshire towns, many political conventions were held there during the Revolution, it has given birth to many celebrated men, and in our day, it is a famous summer resort. Cornish farms were talked about in the XVIII Century and Cornish Gardens are famed in the XXth. Amongst the renowned men of Cornish were three of International Fame; Right Reverend Philander Chase the First Bishop of Ohio, Dr. Nathan Smith, the founder of Medical Schools at Dartmouth, Yale and Bowdoin and Dr. Lyman Spalding. With the Bishop this book has little to do except to print a few of his letters. With Dr. Smith the Story begins, for without his directing influence, Lyman Spalding would probably not have reached his lofty medical position.

Nathan Smith was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, September 30, 1762, and was taken by his parents to Vermont where he drifted into manhood as a farmer. He happened to see Dr. Josiah Goodhue of Putney, operate, asked that physician to make a Doctor, too, of him, and after studying English for a year and following Dr. Goodhue's practice he settled in Cornish as a physician in 1786.

After a year or two of practice he recognized his defective medical education, attended lectures at the Harvard Medical School and obtained there his degree of M.D., in 1790, presenting a Graduating Thesis "On the Causes and Effects of Spasms in Fever." In looking over the Town Papers of Cornish I find that in January, 1791, he handed in a petition for a Lottery of the value of £100, the proceeds to be devoted to purchasing a medical library for the instruction of medical students and practitioners of medicine in that part of the Country.

Whether this succeeded or not, I have not discovered.

He married in succession two daughters of Colonel Jonathan Chase, Elizabeth and Sarah, and soon took notice of young Spalding, who was seven years of age when Dr. Smith settled in Cornish. Knowing the advantages of education, he induced Colonel Spalding to send his pretty boy to Charlestown Academy, not far away, where he studied English and Latin, and was there graduated July 14, 1794. In honor of the occasion the students acted Sheridan's "She Stoops to Conquer," as an old play bill before me shows. "Pretty" I have called my grandfather, for Benjamin Waterhouse called him "Beauty" Spalding, and John Neal, a Famous American, granted that grandfather was good looking enough, but vowed that his wife, Elizabeth Coues, was the most beautiful woman he ever saw.

Of Colonel Spalding's other children it may here be mentioned, that Silas, the elder son, a simple farmer as his letters show, was born May 5, 1772, and died September 20, 1844. Esther, the eldest child, was born May 5, 1769, and married in Claremont, near by, a farmer by the odd name of "BILL" Barnes, who also kept a tavern which stands to this day. Esther, who was his second wife, lived to be 94, and I can remember seeing her bent over a wash tub when she was over 90.

I do not understand why young Spalding did not go to Dartmouth like other boys from Cornish, but immediately after leaving the Academy, he rode about seeing patients with Dr. Smith, and first attended lectures at the Harvard Medical School in the Winter of 1794. Diaries of various horseback rides to Cambridge and return are still extant, and from them I take a few interesting biographical notes.

The first journey was made in company with Dr. Smith and Dr. Alexander Augustus Dame, later a member of the New Hampshire Medical Society. Dr. Smith evidently went with his pupil in order to introduce him to the Faculty as well as to renew with them his former acquaintances. Riding through Fitchburg, Spalding finally lodged for the Winter with Mrs. Moore of Cambridge, who charged him sixteen shillings a week for board and two for a room. The tickets for lectures from Dr. Waterhouse[1] and Dr.

[1] Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse (1754–1846), Professor of Materia Medica and the Theory and Practice of Physick, studied medicine at Edinburgh and obtained his degree at Leyden. He settled in Cam-

Warren[1] were $14 each. After Dr. Smith had set off for home, Spalding hired a chaise into which he hitched his horse, and drove to Boston where he spent money on nuts, dried peaches and velvet for a waistcoat. He "gave a dole to a blind beggar," took a look at an elephant, and went to Long Wharf where he saw a French Man of War. Before returning to Cambridge he saw Dr. Dexter,[2] and paid him $14, also, for a Chemistry Ticket.

bridge and was appointed Professor at the time of the foundation of the Medical Schools. He wrote a good deal publicly on Botany, and Natural History, but in 1800 began and continued for years a vigorous campaign in favor of Vaccination, being the First Physician in America to vaccinate as a preventive against the Small Pox. After failing to obtain a monetary reward for his services in the introduction of vaccination, he was appointed Surgeon to nine Medical Posts in New England, and later still became Surgeon General to the Military Department of New England. A circular Letter of his addressed to the Surgeons of the Department in 1817, directs them in the diagnosis and treatment of dysentery amongst the soldiers.

Dr. Waterhouse retired from practice in 1820 and spent much time on "The Letters of Junius" which he ascribed to Chatham. He was a fertile writer on medicine, always in hot water in the Newspapers, irascible, pugnacious and argumentative. He embraced at one time the Thompsonian-Lobelia treatment for all diseases, and was for this threatened with expulsion from the list of honorary members of the New Hampshire Medical Society.

Dr. Edward Jenner was his God. His letters here first printed throw new light on the introduction of vaccination into America.

[1] Dr. John Warren (1753–1816) was graduated from Harvard in 1771 and began the study of medicine with his brother, Joseph, who was killed at Bunker Hill. John practiced first at Salem, but at the opening of the Revolution was appointed Surgeon's Mate in the Army, rose to a full Surgeoncy, and at one time had sole charge of a large Hospital. After the War, he settled in Boston and became a great man. He was Professor of Surgery for twenty years in the Medical School, and his most famous operation was an amputation at the shoulder joint. He did more than any other physician to cause the removal of the School to Boston as a better field for clinical instruction than at Cambridge. Eloquent as a speaker he wrote but little on medicine. He was famous for speed, and it is said that funeral processions would open for him on his furious way to his patients. Dr. Warren was much of a public man, did considerable surgery, had an extensive practice and was regarded as the best man in Boston.

[2] Dr. Aaron Dexter (1759–1829) was graduated A.B. from Harvard in 1776, and obtained from Harvard an Honorary M.D. in 1786. He was Ship's Surgeon during the Revolution and was captured but soon released. The only paper of his that I have ever seen was "On the Use of Blisters in Medicine." He belonged to the State Medical

On a second journey to Boston, Spalding was accompanied by Ithamar Chase, a brother of the Bishop, and on a third he bought chemicals and apparatus for the Dartmouth School. Upon his return from this last journey Dr. Smith took him in to board and lodge in his own house in Hanover. The note book which covers this last tour to Boston mentions boarding with Mrs. Cooper on the corner of Wing's Lane and Brattle Street, Boston, at $5 a week, which he calls "Very Dear," whilst in May, 1797, he lived "Handsomely" with Dr. Waterhouse at Cambridge for $4 a week, room included.

I also own the note books used by Dr. Spalding at the Harvard Medical School and from them I find that he attended regularly and made abundant notes of lectures, but as the information which they contain has ceased to be of interest, it may be omitted here.

The important results of the attendance at the Harvard Medical School were: the best of instruction; and personal acquaintance with the three Professors.

The number of students at the Harvard Medical School being small, each one had a chance of personal acquaintance with the Professors; this intimacy in the case of Dr. Spalding resulting in life-long friendship with these elder men. When the School advertised for pupils, Dr. Spalding at the request of Dr. Waterhouse inserted the Notice in the "Dartmouth Eagle" and it so happens that in a Number for August, 1796 we read a "Notice of a Fall Term of Lectures" containing this curious item:

"Students will find the course in the Harvard School most desirable, and they can attend the private practice of the Professors, Gratis, in Boston, Cambridge and elsewhere."

"Curious" it is, for it shows the earliest form of Clinical Instruction at Harvard. Dr. Spalding also wrote about the Mineralogical Cabinet belonging to Dr. Waterhouse, and of his Lectures on Natural History which then played an important part in Medical Teaching.

Similar intimacy with the other Professors will be noted as this book proceeds.

Society, and to many scientific societies, and taught the solid foundations of chemistry at Harvard for many years. He was also much interested in agriculture, and was for a long time President of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

Let us now return to Dr. Nathan Smith, who after obtaining his degree received pupils in his offices at Cornish and Windsor, and finally decided that a Medical School at Dartmouth should be established. He obtained the desired permission in 1796, and then having in view a voyage to Europe, went to Cornish where he intended to discuss his plans with young Spalding. Finding, however, that he had gone to Boston, he left with Colonel Spalding the following letter:

"Cornish, November 19, 1796. Dear Sir: I expect to set out tomorrow on my tour to Europe and am not certain that I shall go by the way of Boston, and therefore I write you a few words to leave with your father. I believe it is the wish of many people in this neighborhood, that you would stay in this town until I return, which I wish you to do if you think it will be consistent with your interests. I have left a number of accounts unsettled, which I wish to have appropriated to pay what I owe to your father and you. The principal accounts which are not settled are Mr. Bingham of Lebanon, Mr. Braynard, Mr. Ward and Mr. Torrey for board and instruction.[1] I have also a number of Notes, some out and others out next Fall and Summer, which if I should not return may be applied to pay you and your father, if those above mentioned should fail. . . . Respecting my Voyage, I am not so well provided as I could wish, but must put my trust in God and not in filthy lucre. I know of a case of Stone in the Bladder. The patient is a boy of 17, a good patient, and the family expect me to operate as soon as I return.[2] I have settled the greater part of my business pretty much to my mind. Our business at the College increases very fast,[3] and I hope will succeed better than we feared, and I wish you to attend to my family if you should stay in Cornish, and if they should be sick. If any dispute should arise about the settlement of my accounts and which I have left with the Attornies, I have directed them to call on you, and hope you will attend to it as you are better acquainted with my business than any other man. . . . Your friend and Servant. . . N. Smith.

[1] The creditors whom Dr. Smith mentions were students who owed him a tuition fee of $133 a year. Dr. Torrey is probably Dr. Augustus Torrey who obtained his medical degree at Dartmouth in 1801. The others I have failed to discover.

[2] The "case of stone" suggests that with the fee he could pay the borrowed money, but how much he had from the Spalding family I have never discovered. It was probably enough to pay his expenses to Europe and return.

[3] "Our business at the College" means that all was going on well with the plans for the new Medical School at Dartmouth.

P. S. The wart which appeared on your mother's face before you left has not proved so innocent as I could have wished. I pulled off the top of it, which was killed by the ligature and found a matter that resembled the matter in a strumous tumor. I dipped some lint in vitriol and applied it, which removed the tumor level with the skin, but after a few days it appeared to be rising fast around the edge of the scar. As I could not have an opportunity of removing it with the knife, I applied a pretty large caustic of Lapis Infernalis, which has destroyed the parts some distance beyond where the skin was affected with the disease, which I think will prove a cure. I would wash the sore with corrosive sublimate until it is healed up. . . . N. S."

Mrs. Spalding being then 60, there was cause for anxiety lest the growth should prove to be malignant, but as she lived many years more, Dr. Smith must have effected a cure.

Immediately after his arrival in Boston, Dr. Smith wrote again to Spalding, who had returned to Cornish.

"Boston, Dec. 11, 1796. Dear Sir: I was very sorry that I did not have an opportunity to see and talk with you before I set out for Europe, but it so happened that I was obliged to go to Putney, and there I sold my horse, which obliged me to go in the stage. Therefore I missed of seeing you. I left a line with your father for you, in which I desired that you should stay in Cornish till I returned. I have a still greater reason now to wish you to do so than when I wrote before, for I conversed with your father and found that he was very much opposed to your going away this Winter, and I think that you had better comply with his request than disoblige him if it does not altogether accord with your own sentiments. Your father is kind to his children, and wishes you to do that which is best for yourself, and if it does not appear so to you, you had better sacrifice a few months this Winter than offend him.

I am waiting for a passage on the Bark "HOPE," which will sail for Glasgow in a week. The information I have received here respecting the success of my project is flattering. Those gentlemen who have been in England think very encouragingly. . . . I am your sincere friend. . . . N. Smith.

P. S. Please give my love and respect to your family, and all who inquire after me."

About this time also, Dr. Spalding forwarded to Dr. Smith by a patient the news from home, and to this Dr. Smith replied at once.

"Boston, Dec. 1796. . . . Dear Sir: I received your letter by Mr. Rosebrook[1] who came to Dr. Warren with the tumor on his

[1] Mr. Rosebrook was a patient from Cornish.

neck. Dr. Warren has extirpated the tumor, and the sore looks promising at present, but I have my fears respecting the final termination of the case. I wrote the day before I received your letter. In that I informed you that I should sail to Glasgow. I am still waiting but expect to sail tomorrow. I have obtained a number of very good letters from gentlemen in this town to gentlemen in England. Drs. Smith and Bartlett[1] have given me Letters of Credit, and through their means I can import such preparations of the Human Body as I shall want. I think my prospects of success are very good at present. I shall persevere with confidence and submit the ISSUE to God and my own good judgment. I did not find Mr. Dame here.[2] I wish you to send at your first opportunity to Orford and get the money for the $30 Note which I have against Dame, and pay it to your father for me. I think Mr. Dame has not conducted like a man of honesty or honor. I wish you to do what you can toward settling of my accounts while I am gone. I am glad to hear that you are at my house, and hope you have enough business to make you contented. I wish you to inform my family and friends that they may write me as often as they have an opportunity, and direct my letters to Mr. Robinson's, Book-Seller,[3] Pater Noster Row, London, and he will transmit them to me. Your Ob'd't Serv't. N. SMITH."

From this time on until Dr. Smith's return in the following year, young Spalding carried on Dr. Smith's practice, but business being dull in February, 1797, he made a horseback journey of 300 miles in Vermont, partly on business for others and partly in looking about for a place to settle in practice. He went first to Vergennes and from there, accompanied by Dr. Crosby of that town, he went to Rutland where the Assembly was in Session, and received from Colonel Sheldon and Judge Marvin,[4] commissions in other parts of the State.

[1] Doctors Smith and Bartlett were a firm of Chemists and Apothecaries in Boston.

[2] Mr. Dame was afterward Dr. Augustus Dame.

[3] George Robinson (1737–1801), "The King of Booksellers," came to London about 1760, made a fortune in his business, took into partnership his son and his brother, in succession, and died in his house over his own book shop, where Dr. Smith met him. Robinson gained great publicity and a heavy fine at one time for publishing Tom Paine's "Age of Reason."

[4] Colonel Sheldon was a famous politician of those times, and Judge Marvin, formerly a physician, was now Judge of Probate and, later, Chief Justice of Vermont.

From a Diary which Dr. Spalding kept, I quote these items:

"Dr. Pomeroy[1] of Burlington asked me to breakfast and took me to see a case of Caries of the Tibia."

"Burlington: Meeting Colonel B. Sumner of Middlebury and his son "BILL," a friend of his and a brother, and they desiring a cup of cyder, I told them that Captain Gideon King had some, but on repairing there he was unwilling to let us have any, but when we made ourselves known, he let us have all we wanted. When we offered to pay, he said it was nothing, but that he had just had a glimpse of a very fine Oration by Josiah Dunham,[2] delivered at Hanover on St. John's Day, and it was the greatest piece of oratory he had ever seen, and that if I would hand him a copy, he would call it pay for the cyder."

As Spalding continued on his horseback tour through Vermont, he mentions the various physicians whom he met. One he says "is a Poor Galenist"; another "is a good physician, but too dirty for a surgeon"; of a third "Very capable, but too fond of the cup"; whilst of the last he met on his long journey he says "There is a man for you! Careful and scientific. Would that I could know about him from meeting him oftener."

From an item of Sunday, March 5, 1797, we get an idea of the people and of the times: "I have not seen an Episcopal Church, or indeed any sort of a Meeting House, since I left Rutland. The people work on Sunday just the same as on any other day. Indeed in some places they do even more bargaining on Sunday than on any other day in the week."

[1] Dr. Pomeroy was the founder of the Medical Department of the University of Vermont, some years later, and must have been glad enough now, to get an opinion from a scholar of Nathan Smith.

[2] Colonel Josiah Dunham, U. S. A. (1769–1844) was graduated at Dartmouth in 1789, taught for some years in Moore's Indian Charity School at Hanover, served in the Army from 1799 and through the War of 1812, and was a Colonel, by title, the rest of his life. He took part in a "Dialogue in Poetry" upon the day of his graduation, and delivered Masonic and Political Orations on many public occasions at Hanover and elsewhere. He was very active on the University side of the College in 1816–18, at the time of the establishment of the University of Dartmouth by the State of New Hampshire, denouncing the College Trustees in unmeasured terms. Later on, he was Secretary of State for Vermont, and in his old age removed to the West and died in Louisville. When stationed at Fort Constitution, near Portsmouth, Captain Dunham and his wife were very intimate with the Spaldings.

Although he looked in at every settlement along his route from Cornish around by Burlington and home another way, Spalding found no promising chance for practice. All of the best villages had at least one physician, and it was not considered courteous to try to rob a fellow practitioner by settling in his town. One doctor in a place was then regarded as enough.

He then resumed practice in Dr. Smith's office until it was time to go to Cambridge to obtain his degree in medicine. Arriving in Boston about the first of May, 1797, he remained there a few weeks, and then boarded with Dr. Waterhouse in Cambridge. On the 24th of June he was examined in Arithmetic and Natural History by the Academic Faculty of Harvard, and on Monday, July 19, 1797, in company with his friend, Samuel Brown,[1] he was examined for his medical degree by the President and Medical Faculty. During this examination he defended his Thesis "On Animal Heat," which was dedicated to his Preceptor, Dr. Nathan Smith. A young man of 22, who could advance the Theory, that Animal Heat depended on the combination and decomposition of blood and air in their passage through the lungs, evidently had a future before him. In addition to the degree of M.B., then given to him, Dr. Spalding was later honored with the degree of M.D. from Harvard, and with both an M.B. and M.D. from Dartmouth.

After he had obtained his degree, Dr. Spalding attended Commencement and listened to the essays of his friends, John Collins Warren and Horace Binney, of whom we shall hear later. He also, at Harvard, made the acquaintance of James Jackson and Mathias Spalding, from whom we shall read friendly letters.

Dr. Spalding then practiced in Cornish until the return to Boston of Dr. Smith, who arrived from Europe on the 11th of September and wrote to him that same evening.

"Boston, September 11, 1797. Sir: I return you my hearty thanks for the two letters which I have received from you since I left Cornish. One I received in London and have ordered the

[1] Dr. Samuel Brown (1768–1805) was graduated from Harvard University in 1793 and from the Medical School in 1797, presenting a Thesis "On Bilious Malignant Fever." He afterwards practiced in Boston, and as Dr. Waterhouse hints in a later letter, may have been "hooted out of town," for he died in Bolton, Massachusetts.

skeletons you desired,[1] which will be sent to Dr. Bartlett of Boston by the "Galen," Captain Markee, and will be here the last of this month. The other I found at Dr. Bartlett's. You may depend it was very grateful to me to hear of the Welfare of my Family and Friends after so long absence, as I have received no letters or other intelligence from them but yours. I am also happy to learn from Doctors Warren and Dexter that you have taken your Bachelor's Degree at Cambridge with a good deal of eclat, and much to your Honor as well as mine. I wrote you from Edinburgh, but concluded that the letters were lost, as the vessel had sailed that I aimed at to write by from Greenwich, before the packet of letters arrived. And I have not heard of any of my letters which were sent with it. I have written to Mr. Hedge[2] to send me some money as I am in want of some to pay a part of the expenses of my voyage and freight for my goods before I can honorably leave town. If you can do anything that will forward the business, I wish you to assist Mr. Hedge. Please to give my respects to your Honored Parents, to your Family and to all friends. Your Ob'd't Serv't, N. SMITH.

Dr. Lyman Spalding, as he was now entitled to be called, was at this time 22 years of age. After a plain English education at Charlestown Academy, he had attended two courses of lectures at the Harvard Medical School, and studied French with Tutor Nancrede[3] at Cambridge.

[1] The skeleton remained in the Spalding family many years and my father used to tell me of trying to frighten boys in New York by holding it up to the window for them to gaze at, if they chose.

[2] Mr. Hedge was a lawyer of Windsor, opposite Cornish, and attorney for Dr. Smith. He met with a tragic fate.

[3] Paul Joseph Nancrede (1769–1841) came from France with Count Rochambeau to aid in the cause of Independence, and was wounded at the battle of Yorktown whilst serving as a Lieutenant of Infantry. He drifted gradually to Cambridge, where he taught French, edited a French Newspaper in Boston, and sold foreign books. He finally became a publisher, gained a considerable fortune, and left a name which still illuminates American Medical History.

CHAPTER II.

Lecturer on Chemistry and Materia Medica at the Dartmouth Medical School (1797-99)

It has been many times said, and said with truth, that the Dartmouth Medical School was founded by Dr. Nathan Smith, and there can be no doubt that to him alone belongs that honor. It has, however, as many times erroneously been stated that for years he worked at Dartmouth alone. Without in the least detracting from Dr. Smith's extraordinary ability, some small credit should be given to Dr. Spalding, the younger man of the two, who assisted Dr. Smith for the better part of three years in establishing and carrying on the school to a successful foundation.

Dr. Smith's natural associate in the task was, of course, Dr. Spalding. It is plain from the previous letters that Dr. Smith looked for the aid of his pupil as an integral part of his original design. Chemistry and Materia Medica were to be taught by Dr. Spalding, whilst Dr. Smith lectured on all the other branches of medicine and performed the surgical operations which presented themselves to the classes. In point of fact, "The Medical Repository," of which we shall hear much later on, contains an advertisement in 1799, Volume 2, page 339, in which the "officers of the institution" are named as Nathan Smith and Lyman Spalding.

The first lecture at the Dartmouth Medical School was given by Dr. Smith, Monday, November 20, 1797. Although the catalogs show but few graduates for several years, yet old lists of students contain the names of as many as fifty attending the lectures from the first, some of them being from the Academical Department, whilst others were physicians in actual practice, but who now took vacations, in order to learn medicine and surgery from books, and lectures.

The first study in which Dr. Spalding showed intense interest was that of chemistry, and finding that text books on the Nomenclature of the materials needed for experiments were obsolete, he discovered one in French,

and translating it, published it under the title of "A New Nomenclature of Chemistry" based on treatises by Morveau,[1] Berthollet[2] and Monge.[3] This "Nomenclature" was a student's manual of 20 pages, printed on rough brownish paper about 12 inches by 10 in size, the pages being divided into four columns, with the new names of Chemicals placed opposite their former names. The publication of this trifle was well received, and brought to the editor considerable reputation.

The lack of books in early American Medicine was often compensated for by correspondence between physicians. An instance of this I find when Dr. Spalding writes to his friend, Dr. Samuel Brown, "If you would like to establish a correspondence with a plain country practitioner I promise you that I shall not be lacking on my part to write you about my medical practice." Books being scarce, nothing served better as a means of education than to report interesting cases and their treatment to brother physicians.

Dr. Spalding was also fond of writing to the Newspapers on public health and items of Natural History. Such

[1] Guyton-Morveau (1737–1816), Louis Bernard by name, who in his youth was a politician and lawyer, but betook himself to Chemistry and became famous by a new method of Fumigating against the Plague which broke out at Dijon in 1771. His muriatic Acid Fumigations were also highly thought of in the West Indies, and in America early in the XIXth Century.

Guyton-Morveau issued his "Methode d'une Nomenclature Chemique" with Lavoissier, Laplace, Berthollet, Fourcroy and Monge in 1787, and it is probably this very work which grandfather utilized in his "New Nomenclature." Guyton-Morveau was famous as a Fire Balloonist, very prominent in the National Convention, and although he voted for the death of Louis XVI, he managed to pull through the Revolution alive.

[2] Berthollet, a collaborator in Guyton-Morveau's work (1748–1812), was very intimate with Napoleon, and a polemical writer of ability. Being of a gouty temperament, he lived outside of Paris, so that in walking to and from his lectures in the city he might cure his bodily tendencies. Of his chemical writings but little has survived.

[3] Gaspard Monge (1746–1818) was Napoleon's right-hand man as a Military Engineer. Many anecdotes concerning their intimacy can be found in the Biographical Dictionaries. Once when Monge had asked from the Emperor some money to aid Berthollet in his experiments, Napoleon sent Monge quadruple the money asked for and added in his handwriting, "Half for Berthollet and half for you." Monge probably did nothing more to the work which Dr. Spalding translated and edited than to revise the text.

essays were common in those days and not regarded as advertisements. It was an outlet for an active physician's thoughts. The pendulum has now swung to the other extreme. Patients by the thousand can be "advertised" as undergoing operations in one physician's Private Hospital, but it is unethical to say a single word about patients operated upon in another physician's "office."

Amongst various papers thus issued by Dr. Spalding, I find one "On Resuscitation of the Apparently Drowned," and another "On the Lassitude of Spring," in which he argued that this condition is due to diminished oxygen in the air.

Another was a Review of "The Life and Adventures of Stephen Burroughs" printed by Benjamin True at Hanover in 1791, and now much sought after by bibliophiles. Of this curious book, exhibiting the writer as a swindler, idler, rowdy, counterfeiter and thief and fond of whipping young girls, robbing his friends and boasting of his conquests over women, Dr. Spalding wrote an amusing critique, for some small sum as a support for his expenses of living.

Three important events occurring at Dartmouth during Dr. Spalding's Lectureship of Chemistry and Materia Medica were: the beginning of a life long friendship with Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, a renewal of correspondence with Dr. Waterhouse, and a difficulty with Dr. Daniel Adams.

Dr. Mitchill (1764–1831) was one of the most able and versatile men that the Nation has ever produced, for he enriched the world with one hundred and eighty-nine distinctly new ideas. He was born on Long Island, obtained his medical degree at Edinburgh, and was, in turn, Professor of Botany at Columbia, of Natural History in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, a Physician to the New York Hospital, Vice-President of Rutgers, Member of Congress, Commissioner to the Iroquois Indians and United States Senator from New York. He was a friend of the Indian Chieftain Tammany, and from him we have Tammany Hall of today. Dr. Mitchill learned the Indian Language, and translated Indian Songs into English. He lectured on Public Health, and on Chemistry and Natural History, delivered addresses in their symbols to deaf mutes, made the first Mineralogical Survey of New York State, wrote on fish and on earthquakes, and a "Life of Thomas Emmett."

His memory was wonderful and as a public speaker he was famous. In medical history, Dr. Mitchill will long be remembered as the originator of "The Medical Repository," a magazine of great value to physicians of that era.

Dr. Mitchill is also well known in the Poetical History of America, and we find many allusions to him in the works of Dr. Drake, who wrote "When Freedom From Her Mountain Heights" and of Halleck, whose "Marco Bozzaris" is perennial. Drake and Halleck[1] wrote a set of poems, by "The Croakers," as they styled themselves, and in this we find many "HITS" on Dr. Mitchill. One of these poems is dedicated "To the Surgeon General of the State" (Dr. Mitchill) with the Motto: "Why, Tom, he knows Everything," and in it he is called "Lord of Flints," suggesting Mineralogy, "Friend of the Fish," alluding to his artificial Fish Ponds at his country-seat, "Plandome," on Long Island, and "Steam Frigate on the Waves of Physic" to recall his generous aid to Robert Fulton.

[1] Dr. Joseph Rodman Drake (1795–1820), born in poverty and the eldest of a family of five children, wrote verses as a mere child and as he grew to manhood was considered the Finest Gentleman in New York. He was taken up as a general favorite by everybody of distinction, studied medicine with Dr. Romayne, and then in Europe, but he had hardly made a beginning in practice in New York, when he was carried off by tuberculosis. His "Culprit Fay" was the rage and it was as a Threnody of Dr. Drake that Halleck wrote those verses beginning: "Green be the Turf above Thee."

Fitz Greene Halleck (1790–1867) is another name famous in American Poetry. He was at first a bookkeeper, then a school teacher, finally he became the Protégé of John Jacob Astor and was much renowned for his poem, "Fanny," which had an enormous success.

With both of these poets Dr. Spalding was to meet on most friendly terms at the homes of Dr. Mitchill and of Dr. Hosack.

Dr. Nicholas Romayne (1756–1817), the instructor of Dr. Drake, and also an intimate friend of my grandfather, may be mentioned here.

He studied medicine at home and abroad, and enjoyed an excellent practice in New York. He was the first President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons and his Inaugural was "an honorable specimen of his diversified talents." He became entangled in Blount's Conspiracy (1797) to drive the Spanish out of Louisiana, but although imprisoned for his share in that offense, he was never considered as dishonored. Bulky of bone and immense in adipose tissue, Dr. Romayne nevertheless skipped about with amazing nimbleness. Abstemious in drink, he was an enormous eater, without, however, ever impairing his mental ability. Clever, versatile, learned and facile with his tongue and pen, he was the model of an energetic, ambitious and unwearied practitioner of medicine.

The last verse of this Poem reads:

> "It matters not how low or high it is,
> Thou know'st each Hill and Vale of Knowledge;
> Fellow of Forty Nine Societies,
> And Lecturer in Hosack's College."

With this very celebrated man Dr. Spalding was now to begin a correspondence, and through him was to be introduced to a wide circle of friends in New York City. Amongst them it is pleasant for his descendants to know that he was to meet the two poets whose verses we have just mentioned.

Dr. Spalding's first letter to Dr. Mitchill, a copy of which has come down to me, is laconic, but shows his early interest in literature.

"Hanover, N. H. February 1, 1798. Sir: Not long since I saw an advertisement of yours in a paper from your city, respecting the publication of a Volume, yearly, to contain Medical Facts and News. It was mentioned that subscription papers would be sent to different parts of these United States. I have impatiently waited to hear farther from your intended publication but have not. Situated so far in the country as we are, it may be that the publication is going on, or at least, that subscription papers have been issued. If this should be the case, please give me information and send a few papers into this part of the World, and all that can be done here shall be done, cheerfully, in support of the publication, which I am confident will succeed if attempted. Your Ob'd't Serv't, LYMAN SPALDING.

P. S. Enclosed I send you a Dissertation, and in return I wish you to send me a publication of yours on 'Azote.'" [1]

Writing from Albany, New York, on the 28th of March, Dr. Mitchill replied as follows:

"Dear Sir: Your letter from Dartmouth was forwarded to me at this place, from New York. How long it lay at my house before it was sent on to me, I know not. Probably a week or two, or else I might have acknowledged the receipt of it sooner. I have been in this place, which is now the seat of our State Government, since last December in attendance upon the Assembly, as one of the Members from the City of New York. Thither I expect to return in about three weeks, when adjournment will take place.

[1] "The Dissertation" was a copy of Spalding's Graduating Thesis "On Animal Heat." "Azote" was the fashionable Germ-Killer of the day.

There is such a publication as you allude to, announcing an intended medical work to be published in quarterly numbers. After issuing the Prospectus, the Editors, Dr. Smith,[1] Dr. Miller[2] and myself, according to their promise proceeded in making up and sending forth the collection of pieces. The work is called "The Medical Repository" and three numbers are published and ready for delivery to subscribers. It gives me pleasure to find that you are curious to see the performance. It is to be had of the Messrs. Swords,[3] the publishers of "The New York Magazine." I am also pleased to learn of your willingness to procure subscribers. I have no subscription papers with me here, but can inform you that the first number costs One Dollar, and subsequent numbers, half a dollar to subscribers. And, as four numbers come out in a year, the four when bound will make a handsome and large octavo volume of more than four hundred pages. As the "Repository" depends wholly upon the support of the subscribers, every subscriber that you procure will add materially to the encouragement and ultimately, success of it. The publication embraces a wide field of Science and Speculation, not being confined merely to Medicine, but extending to Natural History, Agriculture, and all the kindred subjects of Knowledge. It exhibits also, a summary of foreign and domestic news on those subjects and a Review of American Publications.

[1] Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith (1771–1798) was Co-Editor of the "Repository"; born in Litchfield, Connecticut, the son of Dr. Reuben Smith, he was graduated from Yale, studied medicine with his father and in Philadelphia, settled in New York and although dying in a day, as it were, from Yellow Fever, he has come down to us as the Medical Hero of his time. He was a remarkable conversationalist, a medical writer of much promise, a composer of music, the writer of an Opera Libretto, and the author of a Tragedy, entitled, "André." At the age of 25 he was a physician to the New York Hospital, and in his brief life explored medicine more deeply than most physicians after years of practice.

[2] Dr. Edward Miller (1760–1812), another editor of the "Repository," and whose death influenced the removal of Dr. Spalding to New York, went out during the Revolution as Surgeon's Mate on a Privateer, studied in Paris and returning obtained his degree in Philadelphia. He practiced in Maryland and in Dover, Delaware, and delivered before the Delaware Medical Society its first Oration. He removed to New York in 1796, and soon obtained a high position in medicine. He was a profuse letter writer, carrying an extensive correspondence at home and abroad. He died suddenly, leaving the memory of a superior man in medicine, and his works in two volumes were issued after his death.

[3] "The Messrs. Swords" were descendants of Lieutenant Swords, who came from England in 1759. The family is still represented in New York.

I thank you for your Graduating Thesis. I also consider your Report [1] as a mark of politeness, and in return for it, I would gladly send you the publication you write for, but it has long been out of print, and I have been too much engaged in other pursuits to give out a second edition of it. Your Ob'd't Serv't, S. L. MITCHILL."

"The Repository" arrived in due season, and in May I find another letter to Dr. Mitchill.

"Hanover, May 20, 1798. Dear Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of four numbers of "The Repository" together with a note from Dr. E. H. Smith, who desires to be favored with such facts as may present themselves relative to Canine Madness, and an authentic account of the disease said to have prevailed at Hanover amongst the Geese.

To the First, I would observe that there has not been a case of Canine Madness within the circle of my particular acquaintance since I have been engaged in medical pursuits. As to the Last, I suppose that the gentlemen has seen the Papers, or an extract from the paper published in this place, which contained such a hint. I would inform him that it has a ludicrous Editor, and that the fatality was wholly confined to the College Yard, whose pump-trough the geese frequented. The mortality may be attributed to fractured skulls by the bloodees (heavy canes) of the scholars.

With my name as a subscriber, you will be pleased to place Roswell Leavitt, Physician at Peacham, Vermont, and Ebenezer Knowlton,[2] Hanover, a Mechanic, to your list of subscribers. Mr. Woodward [3] the bearer, will pay you four dollars for these two gentlemen, for which you will send them the numbers already published.

I send you a "Treatise" by Dr. Allen,[4] I forbear giving you my opinion of the merits of the work, as you have the same data, and a better capability of judging than I have. Sir, with sentiments of esteem, I am, Yours, etc., LYMAN SPALDING."

[1] "Your report" was a paper on an Epidemic of Malignant Fever from which Dr. Spalding personally suffered at Hanover, and which he read before a local Medical Society founded by himself at Dartmouth, and later, printed in the 'Repository.'

[2] "Ebenezer Knowlton," a Hanoverian, was very prominent in church matters during the disputes between the Villagers and the College concerning the status of the Church at Hanover.

[3] "Mr. Woodward" was William Woodward, who acted as Attorney for Dr. Spalding at various times, and of whom we shall hear later on.

[4] "Dr. Jonathan Allen" lived in Royalton, Vermont, but I have failed to discover the title of his essay. He lectured, later on, at the Castleton, Vermont, Medical School.

Another letter in the correspondence with Dr. Mitchill may be inserted here, although written when Dr. Spalding was practising at Walpole in 1799.

"Dear Sir: Since I wrote you, we have had many instances of Canine Madness, but I can make no observations of any cases in MAN, as the disease has been wholly confined to the dumb beasts, as dogs and hogs cattle and horses. These animals are always destroyed as soon as certain evidence has been obtained of their being affected. The disease has been seen in several adjoining towns. Any farther particulars which I shall be able to communicate shall be forwarded cheerfully, if requested.

Enclosed is my paper on "Bilious Remittent Fever," of which you are at liberty to make use of in part or TOTO as pleases you. Also a Two Dollar Bill; the one-half of which is to complete the payment of Dr. Stern's[1] subscription for "The Repository" and the other parts 3 and 4 for Dr. Smith, he having subscribed. You will in future send mine to Walpole. If any number has gone to Hanover for me, Dr. Smith will receive it. In concluding, I wish you to give me a particular statement of the TREATMENT of the Bilious Fever in your City. I am yours, etc., L. S."

After Dr. Spalding had practiced a few months at Walpole, and then at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he delivered another course of Chemical Lectures at Hanover and from there sent this brief note to Dr. Mitchill.

"Hanover, October 18, 1799. Dear Sir: I contemplate spending a few weeks in New York the present Autumn, or ensuing Winter, and should be much gratified in attending your Chemical Lectures. Therefore, I wish you to write me a short account of them; as when they commence, and how long continue. I enclose you $2 in advance for "The Repository," which kindly place to the balance of my subscription. With Esteem, LYMAN SPALDING.

P. S. Please write by the next mail so that I may make my arrangements accordingly."

Dr. Mitchill's reply is valuable to our Medical History.

"New York, Oct. 31, 1799. Dear Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of your favor with the $2 in New Hampshire Bank Paper which it contains as subscription money for the "Repository." My Course of Chemistry will commence on the second Tuesday of November, and will continue to the first of March. The lectures will be given

[1] Dr. Thomas Stern practiced at Amherst, New Hampshire, as a Licentiate of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Harvard gave him an honorary degree of M.D., in 1812 and he survived until 1854.

five times a week, and one hour at a time. I should consider myself honoured by having Dr. Spalding for one of my hearers. I am persuaded that the passing of twelve to fourteen weeks in New York during the ensuing session will be a matter of no regret to you. Dr. Rodgers[1] will also give Clinical Lectures at the same time on Select Cases in the New York Hospital.

There is an Act of the Legislature relative to the practice of Physick and Surgery, but it is a poor stupid thing, and I believe few pay any attention to it. I have it not by me, or I would give you an abstract. However, I can inform you, that the qualification to practice in the State, and of course in the City, is very easy; Two years previous study with any practitioner and no examination required. If a person has been a student the requisite time, he will get a certificate from his master, and file it in the office of the County Clerk, and then he is a Practitioner. I am not, however, sure, that I am correct in my account of it, but this I know: that when I last attended the Legislature, I endeavored to obtain the repeal of a Statute which seemed to me ridiculous, and disgraceful to the Profession, but I did not succeed.

To avoid the pestilential air, (Yellow Fever) I withdrew from the City in August to my farm on Long Island, and returned but the day before yesterday. It seems healthy now, and business grows brisker. The necessity that the Publishers also were under of leaving the City, has retarded the present number of "The Repository," but the materials are compiled, and they are now going on as rapidly as they can. Come and abide a few months in New York. Your Ob'd't Serv't, S. L. Mitchill."

From Dr. Spalding's inquiry concerning the laws for practice in New York, as suggested in Dr. Mitchill's reply, he may even then have been planning to settle in that city. He was, however, unfortunately unable to visit Dr. Mitchill and wrote to that effect:

"Porstmouth, November 30, 1799, Dear Sir: It is with regret that I inform you that I cannot spend a few weeks in New York as I had before proposed. I have taken a Stand for the practice of the healing art in this place, and my presence here is absolutely

[1] John Bayard Richardson Rodgers (1757–1833) was a Surgeon on Washington's Staff during part of the Revolution. After obtaining a degree at Edinburgh, in 1786 he settled in New York, was a Professor of Obstetrics at Columbia, Port Physician for many years, and Grand Sachem of Tammany, which met in those days in what was called by its deriders, "The Pig Pen," a hall in the lower part of the City. Dr. Rodgers stood very high in medical and political circles and was, during his career, President both of the County and of the State Medical Societies.

required. However, I still cherish the idea of attending your Chemical Lectures at some future day.

At the Commencement held at Dartmouth on the 28th day of August, the degree of M.D. was conferred on Nathan Noyes,[1] Newbury; Dissertation "On Febrile Heart," Daniel Adams,[2] Townsend, Massachusetts; Dissertation, "Principles of Animation" and Abraham Hedge,[3] Woodstock, Vermont, "Medicinal Uses of Water." It is the law of the College that every dissertation shall be published within six months after delivery. If you will be so polite as to furnish me with a copy of those delivered at Columbia, I will enclose those of Dartmouth to you, when printed.

Enclosed I send you a Nomenclature and a Dissertation. The former was published under many disadvantages. That the Gable of Chemical Nomenclature is founded on just principles is more than I can vouch for, and still I have no other voucher than myself. This arrangement has struck me very agreeably. I have therefore introduced it into the School.

You will direct my Repositories to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In the next one I wish you to send an abstract of Dr. Smith's and my own account, respecting the "Repository." Your friend, L. SPALDING."

As we have already seen, Dr. Waterhouse of Cambridge took a great fancy to Young Spalding, boarded him in his own mansion, and had financial dealings with him.

[1] Nathan Noyes (1777–1842) was born at Newbury, Massachusetts, and was graduated A.B. at Dartmouth in 1796. He then attended the Medical School and later settled in his native town. He lectured on Theory and Practice at Dartmouth in 1813, and finally removed to Charlestown, Massachusetts. His letters show him industrious and ingenious as a physician.

[2] Daniel Adams (1773–1864) was graduated academically from Dartmouth in 1797, medically in 1799, practiced first in Leominster, Massachusetts, and later on in Mount Vernon and Keene, New Hampshire, where he was an active member of the State Medical Society. He taught in the public schools, and was the author of very valuable books on Arithmetic and Geography which ran through frequent editions, and are now much sought after by bibliophiles in mathematics and geography. Dr. Adams also issued in 1806 an interesting magazine entitled "The Medical and Agricultural Register," replete with instructive papers bearing upon these topics of value to the people and to the Profession.

[3] Abraham Hedge came originally from Windsor, Vermont, then opened a Drug Shop in Woodstock and later on, when studying medicine at Hanover, carried his drugs and his business to that town, and in that way earned his lecture fees and board. He settled in Chester, Vermont, as we shall soon discover, and after long sufferings from tuberculosis, died at Chelsea, Vermont, in 1808. He was a clever man, as his letters show.

The following letter from Dr. Waterhouse to Dr. Spalding, then at Hanover, offers personal touches of value:

"Cambridge, October 5, 1797. Dear Sir: Mr. Hedge[1] has just called on me with the note I gave, and I am sorry that from my paying away considerable last week, it has exhausted me, and my period of receiving cash does not arrive till December. I understood we spoke of Winter, for the payment, although this time or any other would have been agreeable had I not been run out. Respecting the saddle,[2] it just suits Master Andrew,[3] and on that account I should like to take it. I consulted a person who judged it to be worth five dollars. As to the bridle, it would be difficult to put a price on it, as it is so totally worn out. I was glad to find from your letter that you were happy among your friends. Mrs. Waterhouse and all the rest of them join in kind remembrances to you. Daniel still talks of "Beauty" Spalding, but Mr. Hedge is waiting for this and is in haste to be gone. Your friend, BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE."

Some months later, Dr. Spalding sent pamphlets to Dr. Waterhouse and with them this brief letter.

"Hanover, July 12, 1798. Dear Sir: Some time since I sent you a paper of mine "On Fever" and immediately after their printing, I directed the printer to send a number to your care, but through neglect he kept them all on hand. I now send you by Mr. Sparhawk[4] three for your own use and one I wish you to present to the President of Harvard and another to the Library for the use of the students. Mr. Dunham delivered a very Federal Oration on July 4th. It is in the press and as soon as it is out I will send you a copy. Your Ob'd't Serv't, LYMAN SPALDING.

P. S. We have just completed our Second Course of Medical Lectures. I have been frequently called to add my poor moiety by composing and reading lectures when Dr. Smith was absent on Practice, and even when he was present. The future prospects are good, but what the circle without ends may roll up, is at present an Arcana. My best wishes to all your family. L. S."

[1] Mr. Hedge was Abraham, just mentioned, and from a later letter we shall learn that the two men had it hot and heavy about this note, and also be glad to know that it was ultimately paid.

[2] The saddle had been left at Cambridge when graduating.

[3] Masters Andrew and Daniel were probably children of Dr. Waterhouse.

[4] "Mr. Sparhawk" was John Stearns Sparhawk (1778–1799) of Roxbury, who was graduated from Dartmouth in 1796 and was at this time a medical student at Dartmouth. He died early, from tuberculosis.

From the context of the next letter from Dr. Waterhouse it would seem that there had been more trouble about the note.

"Cambridge, August 12, 1798. Dear Sir: I received a line from you last week, and in consequence of it, called on Mr. Cooper.[1] There seems to have been a misunderstanding, and I suspect that I myself have made the blunder. I had been expecting to hear from you respecting that note, and wondered when you wrote to me that you mentioned nothing of it. A little before I received your letter, I met with Mr. Cooper, who told me that he had the note, and that he thought I knew it. As the matter is now perfectly understood, you need give yourself no farther thought about it, as I will see that it is taken up almost immediately.

Dr. Chase,[2] I am told, has quitted Baltimore and gone farther South. You may possibly hear terrible accounts of the Yellow Fever in Boston, but you must not believe one-quarter of it. A few violent cases have given rise to this unreasonable alarm. Your Ob'd't Serv't, B. WATERHOUSE."

The third important episode in the life of Dr. Spalding at Hanover was his disagreement with Dr. Daniel Adams, who on his way to Hanover in the Spring of 1799 called on Dr. Spalding, then at Walpole. Soon afterward he wrote from Hanover to this effect:

"March 8, 1799. Dear Sir: I lately received the favor of your letter. I was not in town, however, when Mr. Bellows[3] came on the Plain[4] bringing your letter. When I returned, General Brewster[5] said that Mr. Bellows had gone. I got the glass from the

[1] "Mr. Cooper" was the landlord in Wing's Lane where Dr. Spalding boarded in Boston.

[2] Dr. Chase was Dr. Heber Chase of Cornish (1769–1798) who was graduated at Dartmouth, Academically, in 1791, and obtained his medical degree at Harvard in 1794. This letter shows that he had practiced in Baltimore but then went out as a Ship's Surgeon "father South," which we find to be as far as Demerara, where he died. The Dartmouth Catalog gives the date of his death as 1797, but from the letter of Dr. Waterhouse, this date should be changed for 1798.

[3] Mr. Bellows was one of that family from which Bellows Falls, Vermont, takes its name.

[4] The Plain means the high level portion of the town of Hanover on which the village and the College stand.

[5] General Brewster was Ebenezer, who is often mentioned as "Colonel" in the "History of Dartmouth College," was a Tavern Keeper and Steward of the College for several years.

Chemical Room and went to Mr. Lang's,[1] but he had gone to New York. His brother said that he did not have any of the Parsnip, but if he had, however, it was in his chest, which was locked and must be broken into, which he did not choose to do.

On Saturday I saw Mr. Bellows in Lyme. I desired him to call and take the Glass, which I supposed he would do, and did not know to the contrary until after the mail was gone. I expect I can forward it to you this morning by Mr. Howe,[2] the bearer of this letter. If I cannot, I will send it by the next mail, if no opportunity presents sooner. I came through Windsor when I came up the river, but the books were not yet bound. As soon as they shall be, I will send you the one you wished for. The 2d Volume of the Review came safe to my hand by B. Gilbert, Esq.[3]

The politics of Hanover are on much the same establishment as formerly. The same may be said of economics, hymeneutics and other "tics." In short it is the same thing, without change of shadow or substance. Miss Rachel Chase went from us last evening, her course due South for Cornish. We are now left *in statu quo*.

Mr. Howe, I am informed, is going. I cannot be allowed to proceed farther. With Sentiments of Friendship, I am, yours, etc., DANIEL ADAMS."

Now it happened that when Dr. Spalding resumed his lectures in October, he found a copy of Dr. Adams' Thesis, and believing that his own ideas had been plagiarized, he wrote sharply to Dr. Adams, then in Leominster, Massachusetts.

"Hanover, October 24, 1799. To you, Daniel Adams, or to any other man, I had hoped never to be called upon to mention so disagreeable a subject as that of Plagiarism, which I now conceive you are guilty of as to the foundation of your Dissertation. When I saw you at Walpole, I gave you the History of a treatise which I told you I was writing upon "Animation." I told you of some useful experiments made by Monro, Cruikshank and others. I sent you a book by Esquire Gilbert, with papers at their places.

[1] Mr. Lang was Richard Lang of Hanover, a merchant of the town, real estate owner and a man prominent in church and college affairs. His brother, I take to be Major J. S. Lang, who at a later date lived in Hanover.

[2] Mr. Howe was Abner, a student in the Class of 1801, who later on had a degree of M.B. at Dartmouth and practiced in Beverly, Massachusetts.

[3] Benjamin Joseph Gilbert (1764–1849) practiced law for years at Hanover and was called "Baron" Gilbert on account of his ponderosity. He was very prominent in the Dartmouth College Case.

When I last saw you at Hanover I asked you if you were writing upon this subject. You said you were not. I told you I had somewhat of a Pamphlet completed on the subject, which I meant to offer to the public this Winter, but now you have ordered yours printed without my knowledge, and if I had not accidently learned the subject-matter and repeatedly asked your friends for it, I should never have seen it till I had paid my 20 cents. That you should have done all this without the least mark of an acknowledgement, is more than I conceived of. If you have the least gratitude you will order one, still to be made, as you have rendered abortive my labours in writing my treatise. If you do not consider an acknowledgement due for the subject matter of your Dissertation, I forbid your making it, unless you aim to insult me. L. S."

To these complaints and others in a second letter which has not been preserved, Dr. Adams thus replied:

"Leominster, November 14. Dear Sir: I have made use of no man's arguments to support my subject, for in truth I have seen none, and although I have called in to my assistance some experiments and sentiments of different authors, they were made by them with different views than those for which I have used them. None of these authors have supposed oxygen to be the principle of animation. My treating the subject was on a plan entirely my own.

These, Sir, are my sentiments on the subject of your first letter: I have written to you with that candor and openness I think which becomes a friend. If you are satisfied and have not made impressions of what you have there accused me on the minds of gentlemen at Hanover, the subject will not be thought of again, but if I find hereafter, any impressions of that nature abiding with them, I shall vindicate my character at the expense of anything whatever, truth only, excepted.

Your second letter comes now to be considered: You mention a mistake I made in my experiments in substance or in terms. I acknowledge it, in the latter. I did not give it the right name according to the New Nomenclature. For your noting of this mistake you have my thanks. I shall ever be no less ready to acknowledge a kindness than resent an injury. There is no greater office of friendship than for a man to be informed of his errors with a view to prevent these being exposed to the World.

(After a long account of his experiments modelled on those of Munro and Cruikshank[1] which may be omitted, Dr. Adams goes on to say:)

[1] Dr. Munro whose experiments are here mentioned will be annoted later, whilst of William Cumberland Cruikshank (1745–1800) this may be said: Besides studying medicine at Glasgow and Edin-

Thus, Sir, I have noticed the principal points in your letters and answered your inquiries. If you will correct the terms in my Dissertation, I shall consider it a kindness. With your last letter I received a Nomenclature of Chemistry, improved by yourself. At present, I can make you no other rewards than to assure you I am extremely obliged to you for this honor. Without any design to flatter, I think it a thing much wanted by chemical students, and well calculated to answer their necessity.

Now, Sir, I have nigh done. Important advantages may be derived from correspondence amongst professional men who are engaged in pursuits of truth and philosophical acquirements. This, we have heretofore in some degree enjoyed. I should be happy if it might continue, and increase. Should this be agreeable to your sentiments, your next will point out the manner in which it shall be carried on. Yours in Sincerity. DANIEL ADAMS."

With this letter the quarrel ceased and the two physicians remained firm friends for years.

We now return to the year 1798 and note a letter to Mr. Nancrede which shows what Dr. Spalding was then studying.

"Hanover, July 5, 1798. Dear Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of the pamphlets and catalogues and I wish you to send me by the bearer, Beaumé's "Manuel Du Chemie,"[1] Beddoes "Factitious Airs"[2]

burgh, he became so proficient in French and Italian as to make enough money by teaching them as to carry him through to his medical degree. He moved to London on the invitation of Dr. William Hunter to become his assistant, and after Hunter's death, he continued in the same position with Dr. Baillie, Hunter's nephew. Cruikshank was a good physician but too nervous to be a good surgeon. He wrote much on the "Absorbents," and his Essay, "On the Insensible Perspiration of the Human Body" issued as a pamphlet in 1795, is probably the one from which Dr. Adams obtained his information. Cruikshank was physician to Sam Johnson on his death bed, and when he seemed timid in scarifying the legs of the Sage, to relieve him from dropsy, Johnson exclaimed, "Oh you sweet blooded Doctor. I want life, but you are afraid of giving me pain; cut deeper, man!"

[1] Antoine Beaumé (1728–1804) became well known and distinguished, in spite of many obstacles, and his various inventions compelled attention to his great learning even before he was of age. His famous "Manuel du Chemie" was issued in 1753. He made money by manufacturing Sal-Ammoniac and by perfecting Porcelains, Bleaching and Gilding. He lost his fortune during the Revolution, began all over again and was once more prosperous when he suddenly died.

[2] Thomas Beddoes (1760–1808) was graduated at Oxford and there delivered lectures on Chemistry which were largely attended. He wrote fluently on many medical topics but his works do not seem to have produced any permanent effect on medicine. Southey, the

and Townsend's "Guide to Health,"[1] the second volume only, as I purchased the First one last year when at Cambridge. If you do not have the Second Volume for sale independently, without the First, I do not wish you to send both volumes. You will be pleased to place these books to my account, and send me a bill, together with whatever is due for books taken up before these.

Sir, I am yours, etc., L. SPALDING."

Dr. Spalding had now been living at Hanover from October, 1797, to Christmas, 1798, when he went back to Cornish and made a journey farther down the river to Walpole, where he settled for practice.

Before setting out, however, he sent to President Wheelock[2] by his friend Ithamar Chase of Cornish the following request for a letter of recommendation, and obtained an enclosure, which has been irretrievably lost.

"Cornish, December 24, 1798. Mr. President: My abrupt departure from Hanover was unavoidable. My father had ordered a sleigh for me sooner than I expected. I intended to have called on you again, with Dr. Smith, but could not. We have agreed to continue the lectures as formerly.

Sir, I spoke to you some time ago of the probability of my residing at Windsor, but as yet I am not determined. I now SEE

famous poet, once remarked, that he had hoped for more good to Mankind from Beddoes than from any man of his acquaintance, but that he had been grievously disappointed.

[1] Joseph Townsend (1739–1816) was a noted Mineralogist, Medical Writer and Theologian, studied medicine at Edinburgh, travelled widely on the continent, and settled down as Rector of a Country Parish and Chaplain to the Duke of Athol. His "Guide to Health" a ponderous work was first published in 1795, ran through many editions, and of these Dr. Spalding seems to have bought the volumes of the First.

[2] John Wheelock (1754–1817), second President of Dartmouth, was a very able man, the son of Eleazer Wheelock, the First President of the College. Graduating from Dartmouth, he was in succession Tutor, Professor of History and President. During the Revolution he served in the Army with much renown. He was elected President in 1779, and labored faithfully and energetically until his resignation in 1816 owing to political quarrels. A great deal of hitherto unknown material concerning John Wheelock can be found in Professor John Kirke Lord's recent excellent "History of Dartmouth College."

President Wheelock was very fond of my grandfather, took him in to his own house as boarder and lodger during part of the three years which he spent in Hanover as Lecturer on Chemistry and Materia Medica, and favored him with a number of letters, two of which have been preserved. A Commendatory letter in 1810 is a charming specimen of handwriting and politeness and will be inserted in its proper place in this life.

and FEEL the need of a few words that can be spoken in my favour from so distinguished a character as the President of Dartmouth College. If you will be so polite as to give me a letter (recommendatory) to Esquire Woodward, he will transmit it safe to me. This will put me at once in possession of the confidence of men, for which I must otherwise wait, and perhaps in vain. I am, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant, L. SPALDING."

By the hand of William Woodward,[1] Esquire, Dr. Spalding soon received this brief note:

"Dartmouth College, January 4th, 1799. Dear Sir: I have received your favor and in return herewith forward a testimonial, and I shall rejoice to render any service for your public usefulness, and in every event that may add to your personal felicity. I am, with best wishes, dear sir, Your Sincere friend and very Ob't Servant, JOHN WHEELOCK."

Although Dr. Spalding's connection with the Dartmouth School was not yet ended, he could not obtain enough practice at Hanover to make a living and with this end in view he settled in Walpole at New Year's, 1799, moved to Portsmouth in June, lectured again at Hanover in October, and then resigned his position. He regretted to leave Dr. Smith, he missed the stimulus of preparing for his lectures which had kept him in pace with recent medical improvements, but the distance between Portsmouth and Hanover was too great and the loss of practice at Portsmouth could not be made up by fees from lectures at Hanover. Dr. Spalding had lived in Hanover two years, had carried through four courses on Chemistry and Materia Medica, and acted also as Demonstrator of Anatomy, and thus laid the foundation for a knowledge of Anatomy and Surgery which ten years later brought the invitation to the Professorship of Surgery and Anatomy at the Fairfield Medical School.

[1] William Woodward, later known as William Henry Woodward (1774–1818), was a man of great prominence at Hanover, and in the affairs of Dartmouth for many years. He succeeded his brother George as Treasurer of the College, and was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for several years. A letter from Mr. Woodward to Dr. Spalding, later on, shows their intimacy and very friendly relations.

CHAPTER III.

Six Months of Medical Practice at Walpole, New Hampshire.

Walpole was, in 1799, a country town of about a thousand people, and a famous center for farm produce and lumber. Armed with his letter from President Wheelock, Dr. Spalding soon found patients, and friends. He boarded with General Benjamin Bellows and Major Grant, in turn, as an old diary informs me. Bellows was a big man, physically, and big hearted, too, and his Revolutionary Title clung to him even in those days. He marched to Ticonderoga and Saratoga, filled many town offices and died, in 1802, at the age of 62. "Sam" Grant, a Major in the Revolution, came to Walpole from Watertown in Massachusetts about 1775 and after a long courtship, interrupted by Army Service, married General Bellows' daughter, Phœbe. On the death of her father, she came into possession of a large farm, called the "Seven Barn Farm," and it is pleasant to recall that while grandfather lived in Walpole he stabled his horse in one of those barns.

A diary left by Dr. Spalding, in Walpole, mentions cases of a farmer with ribs broken in a wrestling match; pleurisy, and accidents from scythes and adzes, necrosis of the bones of the leg, then very common, also, and supposed to be due to walking in long, wet grass and marshy woods and over badly made roads.

In his leisure moments, he wrote for the "Farmer's Gazette" a notice of Dr. Samuel Brown's Graduating Thesis "On Fever," a paper on "Vernal Debility" and other popular medical topics.

Among the documents which illustrate this portion of Dr. Spalding's life is a copy of a letter which he sent to his friend Judah Dana (1772–1845) of Fryeburg, Maine, who was graduated at Dartmouth in 1795 and taught three years in Moore's Indian Charity School connected with the College. He then settled in Fryeburg, where he obtained a fine practice as a lawyer, and was chosen Judge of Probate, Judge of Common Pleas, and finally United States Senator from

Maine. Judge Dana was prominent in obtaining the long desired Separation of Maine from Massachusetts, finally accomplished in 1820.

"Walpole, February 12, 1799. My friend Judah Dana: I can write you nothing more agreeable than a sketch of the amusements of this place or the methods which the lads take to worry dull care away and to kill cares. Morning from six till ten, sleeping, waking, rising, dressing, etc., much like other folks. Ten till eleven breakfasting, barbering[1] and the like, just like Hanoverians, only lounge an hour after the teatable.[2] From eleven till three employed in business according to their several occupations, long Christian faces with a sharper's eye. All kinds of business are executed with despatch, but the tongue has cleaved to the roof of the mouth. No man accosts you, passes in silence. If you accost them on any topic, he answers you "MUM," and drives on, leaving you in the lurch. These are the hours for business, and you are sure of no interruptions, for if you knock at a friend's door, he cries, "Busy," and you make your escape.

At three the table is laid, they are all changed in the twinkling of an eye, from silence to sociability. After dinner, Merry goes the nutclack, the Porter and the wine. From this till twelve is spent in reveling, driving dull cares away. Your friend, L. S."

Another letter from Dr. Spalding to Mr. Josiah Dunham has its historical value.

"Sunday Morning. . . Not yet at Church.

(Dr. Spalding then goes to Church and returns and resumes the letter.)

You well know, Dunham, that I prefer a LAY to a CLERICAL Sermon. I just called in to hear the former and while the preacher was thumbing his Alkoran, for the text, I cast my eye into the "Monthly Magazine" for July, 1798, published on the banks of the Thames in St. Pauls. Under the Title of Literary and Philosophical Intelligence I recognized this anecdote:

"The epidemic which has lately ravaged a part of the United States of America has not been confined to the human species alone. The foxes in some parts of New Hampshire and Massachusetts have fallen in great numbers by disease; and in some parts of the Eastern States GEESE have been afflicted in a very

[1] "Barbering" which then consisted in shaving the face and hairy scalp and arranging the wig took much time daily out of a man's life.

[2] "Tea" at ten in the morning then so fashionable has long since been driven out by "Four o'clock Tea."

This letter is amusing as a sketch of the times in a country town.

Singular Manner, many have been seen to sieze some object with their Bills and to adhere to it till they died."

A great day for Dartmouth Sophs. So Literary and Philosophical are they in all their movements, even to that of killing a goose, that they are noticed by the great Sir Joseph Banks, before the Royal Philosophical Society, in the great Emporium of the East. Unfortunately this affecting malady happened before the establishment of the Dartmouth Medical Institution, otherwise, the world would have been favored with the Professor's report officially on the subject. Was not this the forerunner of the Yellow Fever which prevailed at Hanover last Summer? It has been unjustly attributed to Gerry's dog. I think it would be well to inform the public that Gerry did not kill the dog, but the dog was peaceable and had never died of the Yellow Fever, BEFORE . . . Dear Sir. I am yours, SPALDING."[1]

The following letter to Dr. Samuel Brown gives some idea of Dr. Spalding's labors at Hanover.

"Walpole, April, 1799. Dear Friend: Looking over a pile of unanswered letters I find one from you in which you expressed a wish to know how I was going to dispose of myself. Under it I marked with my pencil "Desideratum."[2] I will now inform you how the Fates have disposed of me, as I am, myself, a mere object, rather than an active agent. In November I was in

[1] It will be recalled, perhaps, that in a letter from Dr. Mitchill, Dr. Spalding had been asked for information concerning a curious disease reported far and wide as affecting geese at Hanover, and that a true account of the affair would be mentioned later on.

It seems, then, that geese were drinking at the watering trough in the college yard at Dartmouth, when they were attacked by Sophomores and that in resisting, they seized hold of the students' canes ("bloodees" as they were then called) and so holding on were beated to death by canes in the hands of other students. The incident was mentioned jokingly in the "Dartmouth Eagle" as "a new disease amongst geese," and from that item the gossip spread over the civilized world.

Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820) was a dullard in school but famous the rest of his life. He used an inherited fortune to explore New Foundland, and then to accompany Captain James Cook on one of his voyages around the world, during which he observed the Transit of Venus in 1769. He risked his life at one time by disguising himself as a negro, and attending the funeral of a Cannibal King, so as to note the customs of the natives. Sir Joseph was very intimate with King George, and was often caricatured by Gilray. He was rather domineering, but possessed the gift of obtaining information from others, and thus greatly enriched Natural History.

[2] "Desideratum" may be translated as "Worth Answering."

town,[1] called more than twenty times at your lodgings, once at the Medical School and several times at Dr. Warren's, but I could not find you at all. You must since, have heard of my object. Since that time I have resided at Dartmouth till a few weeks ago, I established myself in this little town for the practice of Physick and Surgery.

While in Hanover, I prepared all the Chemical Experiments and dissected the subject for Dr. Smith's lectures in the Fall of 1797. In the Spring of 1798 the College requested Dr. Smith to deliver a second course, in which I took an active part, composing and delivering one-third part of the Chemical Lectures. Of these, in the Autumn of 1798 I had the whole management, and profit. I now expect to continue in this branch.[2]

Practical observations concerning medicine, you must not call upon from me. If, in conclusion, it should meet your eye to establish a correspondence with a country practitioner, I promise you I shall not be wanting on my part. . . . L. S.

P. S. I thank you, even at this late date, for your Graduating Thesis. I have directed Mr. Nancrede to deliver you some copies of mine. If you have not received them you will be pleased to call upon him for them."

The next letter to Mr. Nancrede shows further medical studies.

"Walpole, February 4, 1799. Dear Sir: You may be surprised to find me cantoned in this little village. However, I flatter myself that it is ultimately for the best. The books sent by Mr. Hedge, came safe to hand, though as yet I have not received a bill of them. Sir, I wish you to procure for me, "Medical and Chyrurgical Review" — B. Bell's "System of Surgery"[3] — Russell "On

[1] "In town" refers to Dr. Spalding's visit to Boston at that time to buy apparatus for his lectures, and instruments for Dr. Smith. When he returned with a debit balance against Dr. Smith of some $20, Dr. Smith repaid it by taking Dr. Spalding to board in his home.

[2] "To continue in this branch" means, that although he had left Hanover, he intended to return in due season for other lectures, as he actually did.

[3] Benjamin Bell (1749–1806) was born in Dumfries, and educated medically at Edinburgh where he soon obtained a position at the head of the Infirmary which he held for nearly thirty years. His book "On Ulcers" ran through seven editions and was translated into various languages, whilst his "System of Surgery" which Dr. Spalding was now ordering covered six volumes, was issued in seven editions and was likewise translated into foreign tongues. Bell was a very skilful operator, went largely in later years into agriculture, and being of a careful disposition saved the money which he had made in his practice, and left a fortune.

Necrosis"[1] — Robinson's[2] "Medical Extracts" — Johnson's "Introduction to Midwifery"[3] — Townsend's "Guide to Health" — Lavoisier[4] and Chaptal[5] "Chemistries" — Rush "Medical Inquiries and Observations," and give me notice when ready for delivery. Sir, I am, Yours, etc., L. SPALDING.

P. S. I can inform you nothing respecting Joan of Arc,[6] Mr. Hedge having the subscription paper."

This letter was carried to Mr. Nancrede by Roger Vose, Esquire (1779–1841), who practiced law at Walpole, served two terms in Congress and was Judge of Probate the remainder of his life. He is the first man of whom I have heard, that "he liked living near a burying ground, for he had quiet neighbors and could from his windows see beyond the grave."

A note to Dr. Bartlett of Boston throws light on Dartmouth and shows the writer busy with his experiments.

"Walpole, April 11, 1799. Dear Sir: You will recollect that I gave you letters from Dr. Smith and Mr. Hedge in 1797. Since

[1] Alexander Russel (1715–1769), physician and Naturalist, travelled largely abroad and visited Aleppo, where he learned Arabic and wrote "A Natural History of Aleppo" which had great vogue and made him famous. Russell sent home the seeds of scammony, and introduced that plant, as well as the Arbutus, into English Medicine.

[2] Robinson's "Medical Extracts" seem to have been collected by Nicholas of that name (1697–1775) who obtained his medical degree at Rheims, and was a profuse and diffuse medical writer and compiler.

[3] Robert Wallace Johnson (the merest sort of a shadow in English Medical History) published in London in 1769 "A New System of Midwifery" in four parts, which seems to be the work for which Dr. Spalding was inquiring.

[4] Lavoisier (1743–1794) will remain famous so long as history endures as much for his extraordinary discoveries in chemistry as for being guillotined amidst the busiest time of his life and learning. He gave his energies, his fortune and his life to improvements in chemistry, and was also distinguished as a physiologist.

[5] Jean Antoine Chaptal (1755–1832) of whose "Treatise on Chemistry" my grandfather was very fond, was eminent in France where he made his discoveries useful to the Arts and beneficial to the industries of that country. His lectures were entitled "Elegant" in delivery and diction, and his style as "Classical." Under Napoleon, Chaptal's career was wonderfully useful to France. Cruel reverses of fortune embittered his old age and much that he had done for the Empire was frivolously wasted.

[6] "Joan of Arc" was an American Edition of Voltaire's Poem, which Mr. Nancrede was introducing, as he had already introduced into America the "Helvetia" of Mallet du Pain.

that time Dr. Smith has entrusted to my care the management of the Chemical Department at Dartmouth College. As you were concerned in the importation of Dr. Smith's apparatus, he has highly recommended you as an agent to procure supplies for me. Now, Sir, I wish you to import for me, 1/4 cwt. Exeter Manganese, 2 ounces of Phosphorus, 5 pounds Purified Soda, or Mineral Alkali, Barytes and Ponderous Earth, 2 pounds each of Fluor Spar, Fluorine, and Bi-Metallic Platinum and Bismuth, Nickel and Zinc, small specimens of each in a Regulin (PURE) State, and 5 pounds of Oxygenated Muriatic Acid. With Esteem, L. SPALDING."

One of the friends whom Dr. Spalding made in his horseback journey through Vermont in 1797 was Dr. Ezekiel Porter of Rutland, a physician of prominence in the State, and the First President of the Vermont Medical Society. To him whilst at Walpole Dr. Spalding wrote the following letter, concerning what we now call Typhoid Fever:

"Walpole, April 7, 1799. Dear Sir: Humanity requires every physician to exert himself to investigate the cause and a means of eradicating from the United States a fever which has for several years spread devastation throughout the country. To investigate the CAUSE, requires the history of its origin in many separate places.

The most popular theory is, at present, Dr. Mitchill's, of Septon or Azote, afforded by the putrefaction of animal and vegetable substances. This theory had its origin in the City of New York, where there is always filth enough to generate a fever, if putrescence be the source, but, in the country, the air is salubrious and uncontaminated with the effluvia from ships, markets, docks, quays, reservoirs and so on. Here, is the place to search for its origin and Cause. These motives have induced me to solicit the assistance of a man whom I scarcely know. Mr. Meacham, however, your student is an intimate acquaintance of mine and to his care I direct this epistle.

Hearing that this fever was prevalent in Rutland, I shall be much obliged to you for a History of its origin in that town, containing the situation of the houses IN WHICH, and the TIME where it first appeared, if any putrid substance were near, such as dead animals, compost heaps, yards of manure, uncleaned putrid meat, outhouses, ponds of filth: in a word, every possible source of putrefaction.

Note the quality of the drinking water and soil, the number affected and the deaths. If, evidently contagious, what cases seemed so, particularly; what class of people were first attacked,

or which suffered the most; did it occur amongst merchants, or travelers who had recently visited infected towns; in what part of the town was it most prevalent, the compact or the isolated; what was its APPARENT origin, or in what consisted the remote or occasional cause, and other particulars that you can suggest.

With high esteem, L. SPALDING."

I do not find any news from Dr. Mitchill during these months at Walpole but an old scrap book contains an advertisement inserted in "The Walpole Farmer" by Dr. Spalding, calling attention to the "Repository" for which all should subscribe, "For," as he says, "Physicians can see at a glance the practice of physicians in every part of the world, whilst the General Information column will be useful to all classes of readers."

About this time also, Dr. Spalding, like an enormous army of other citizens, clergy, and physicians, bought one of Perkins' Patent Tractors (No. 4285) consisting of two pieces of metal, Steel and Copper, tapering to a blunt point. The "FLUID" generated by the apparatus was claimed to "DRAW" diseases from the body. Tractors sold, by the way, at $20 a set with a discount of $4 to any reputable physician or to traders buying by wholesale.

Dr. Elisha Perkins (1741–1799), the inventor of these tractors, was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, in the same town with Dyer Spalding, and for that reason, amongst many others, Dyer's son felt unusual interest in the new machine. Elisha, the son of a physician, studied medicine with his father, and after many experiments, invented his "Tractor" which he used; "At so much a Tract," and which for sheer success throws all the "Pathies" of this present era into the shade. By the terms of sale of the Tractor, it could be leased to one other person in case of the death of the original purchaser, but after the death of its second owner, its virtues suddenly ceased.

A single pamphlet on "Tractorism" in my possession contains five thousand authenticated cures of diseases Twenty-four physicians and nineteen surgeons in England, reported additional thousands of cures, whilst; "one MILLION of people utilized Tractorism, successfully, on infants, adults and animals alike."

The absurdity of Tractorism makes us laugh at the gullibility of our ancestors, yet generations to come will laugh

to scorn our present day legislatures for legalizing optometry, osteopathy and other forms of human folly.

Dr. Perkins, in his old age, invented a preventive against Yellow Fever, experimented with it during an epidemic, but fell himself a victim to the scourge, and his son continued the Tractoration Business, with much success for many years.

One single example of medical writing by Dr. Spalding, when at Walpole is to be found in "An Open Letter" to Dr. Abraham Hedge, "On a deficiency of the Red Globules of the Blood," (The Pernicious Anæmia of today) valuable and suggestive in its thoughts though brief in contents.

Dr. Spalding's twenty-fourth birthday happened to fall on Wednesday, the 5th of June, 1799, and he decided on that day that Walpole was too small a place for him; so he set off for Portsmouth, arrived there on Friday, at noon, and established himself in medical practice.

Portsmouth was the largest town in New Hampshire, contained six thousand people, Dr. Hall Jackson, one of the leading physicians had lately died, many of Dr. Spalding's Dartmouth friends had already settled there, and in addition to looking for a share of public patronage, he hoped to obtain a position as Contract Surgeon or Surgeon's Mate (Assistant Surgeon of today) to the Army Garrison at Fort Constitution in Portsmouth Harbor.

CHAPTER IV.

THIRTEEN YEARS AT PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE — 1799–1812. BILLS OF MORTALITY. SURGEON'S MATE IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY. FINAL LECTURES AT DARTMOUTH.

I HAVE always thought that my grandfather planned, originally, to settle in New York, but that he felt that his means for sustaining himself in the metropolis, until he could build up a paying practice, were too small. For that reason Portsmouth seemed an excellent center, with a considerable population, and but few able physicians. Immediately upon his arrival he called on these gentlemen, inserted a CARD in the papers, and went to Boston to lay in a supply of drugs such as physicians then compounded and carried to their patients. Whilst in Boston he called on Dr. Dexter, who gave him the Magazine of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society in which he found a Prize Essay "On Slug Worms" by his friend, William Dandridge Peck of Kittery, of whom a word later on, with his letters to Dr. Spalding.

Dr. Spalding at once became a leader in New Hampshire Medicine. Just as at Hanover he had established a local Medical Society, so in Portsmouth he called the physicians together, read the first paper, showed a patient and induced others to show theirs, exhibited anatomical preparations and brought forward opium and lettuce which he had grown in his own garden. This local Society finally became the Eastern District Branch of the New Hampshire Medical Society, to which he was, in 1801, elected a member, and in succeeding years, Censor, Secretary, Librarian and Treasurer, and in 1811 Vice President. The Records still preserved show in his excellent hand-writing, that as Secretary he found large arrears of dues, a treasury filled with counterfeit money, and the books in disorder. He was present at every meeting, caused many influential members of the profession outside of the State to be enrolled as Honorary Members and tried to prevent quackery by asking for legislation that no one should practice medicine without a diploma, examination, or references. Persons failing thus

to qualify could not collect pay for services. He once took part in a Debate on the Question: "Is There an Idiopathic Worm Fever" which he opposed and in so doing introduced many medico-literary allusions. He presented to the library a copy of the Massachusetts Pharmacopœia, a gift from Dr. Warren, caused it to be officially accepted as authoritative in New Hampshire, and as Necrologist, wrote a Eulogy of Dr. Joshua Brackett (1733/1802) founder of the Society.[1]

After settling down for the Winter, Dr. Spalding gave much time to dissection and to the formation of an Anatomical Museum, which was famous in Portsmouth for several years.

About this time, also, originated his Bills of Mortality of Portsmouth which he issued from 1800 to 1813, and which being widely quoted, made his name well known in America and Europe.

These Bills will be often mentioned as we move along, for their aim was to increase public interest in tuberculosis, as well as to establish the average of longevity for purposes of Life Insurance and annuities. Dr. Spalding also induced his medical friends to follow his example, amongst them being Dr. Noyes of Newbury of whom we shall soon hear, and Dr. John Drury of Marblehead, a man of learning as his Book-Plates prove. Dr. Drury's Bill of Mortality for 1808 shows 18 deaths by drowning out of 117 in all deceased.

The position of Contract Surgeon to the troops at the Fort in the Harbor, which Dr. Spalding obtained soon after his arrival in Portsmouth, widened his acquaintance rapidly. Although his actual Commission as Surgeon's Mate in the Army did not arrive until two years later, the appointment

[1] This excellent physician was born in Stratham, New Hampshire, and graduating at Harvard, studied divinity, and preached a little, but with failing health he studied medicine and practiced at Portsmouth, where he was loved as a man and skilful obstetrician. He wrote little if any on medicine, but his well-filled Case Books were always open to inquiring students. Dr. Brackett gave to the State Medical Society a Thousand Dollars for Books and his Widow Five Hundred more. At Dr. Spalding's suggestion the Society caused to be printed in Golden Letters the name "Brackett" on all the gifts from the fund. Those books no longer remain in honor of their Giver, a Collection, as they should be in the Library of the State at Concord, but are scattered here and there along the shelves, and many of great Medico-historical value lost.

may be mentioned here because the first letter belonging to the year 1799 in Portsmouth refers to the affair.

Foremost in the list of friends who aided this scheme, I find the name of Hon. Arthur Livermore,[1] son of the Honorable Samuel Livermore,[2] who happened to be leaving Portsmouth at this time to visit his father in Holderness, New Hampshire.

Dr. Spalding gave the son a letter for his father, asking him to send a recommendation to forward to Washington.

When Mr. Livermore reached home, he wrote to this effect:

"Dear Sir: I did not arrive here until last evening, being delayed longer on my journey than expected. I immediately gave your letter to my father, who observed that the certificate from President Wheelock, General Bradley,[3] Governor Langdon[4] and Doctor

[1] Hon. Arthur Livermore (1769–1857) was a distinguished citizen and Jurist and Chief Justice of New Hampshire.

[2] Hon. Samuel Livermore (1732–1813) was one of New Hampshire's famous men. He was Attorney General of the State, Member of the First American Congress, Member of the United States Congress, United States Senator from New Hampshire and finally Chief Justice of the State.

[3] Stephen Rowe Bradley (1754–1830) was very prominent in Vermont State affairs, on most friendly terms with the celebrated Ethan Allen, and extremely active in politics during the Revolution. He was the first United States Senator from Vermont, a General in the Militia, and finally Chief Justice of the State. He probably did more than any other man to obtain statehood for Vermont at a time when New Hampshire and New York were disputing for its ownership. The pamphlet which he published on this topic is now a very valuable item to bibliophiles.

General Bradley was one of the first "Bosses" in American Politics and wielded immense political power in New Hampshire and Vermont.

[4] John Langdon (1741–1819) rose from the calling of a Captain in the Merchant Marine to become a member of the Continental Congress, Navy Agent at Portsmouth and Member of the Provincial Congress, over which he presided. He served in the Revolution Navy and as United States Senator from New Hampshire notified Washington, personally, of his election as First President of the United States. Langdon was repeatedly elected Governor of New Hampshire and for years maintained a lofty position in the Nation by his gracious and insinuating manners, his sociability and his entertaining qualities as a man. He early employed Dr. Spalding as his physician, and was one of his staunchest friends.

The certificate from Mr. Wheelock is the missing document of January 4, 1799, and is probably in the Archives at Washington to this day.

Smith, and the information he had before, of you, convinced him of the justice of your claim to the position, but said he could not, now, write another commendatory letter as there is in his opinion probability that the appointment will not be made until the Senate meet. Utterly unknown by all who have a part in the Executive, it would be presumption in me to say anything on this occasion, though from the information I have had of your character, I most heartily wish the appointment may be yours.

I am, Dear Sir, Your Ob'd't Serv't. ARTHUR LIVERMORE.

New Holderness, July 29, 1799."

Captain Josiah Dunham, recently appointed to the Army and now on recruiting service at Hanover, also assisted Dr. Spalding in his efforts to obtain an Army Appointment, and enclosing a certificate wrote as follows:

"Hanover, March 22, 1802. Sir. Your favor did not reach me till the 20th instant (having been absent). I immediately sat down and gave the Secretary of War[1] a copy of the attached letter. Happy shall I be, my friend, if you get the berth you solicit. I shall see you in 10 or 15 days, if the bad roads will permit. I regret haste, but am, Dear Sir, Your Ob'd't Serv't, J. DUNHAM, Captain, etc."

The "letter attached" mentions Dr. Spalding's services at Dartmouth as well as whilst Contract Surgeon at the Forts, and his devotion to medicine. It is directed to Honorable Henry Dearborn, Esquire, Secretary at War, and is signed "J. Dunham, Captain 2d Regiment Artillery and Engineers."

When the appointment as Surgeon's Mate finally arrived, most unexpected conditions were found attached to it.

"Washington, April 9, 1802. Sir. The President has been pleased by and with the consent of the Senate to appoint you a Surgeon's Mate in the Service of the United States. You will immediately signify your acceptance or non-acceptance thereof, and in case of the Former, you will proceed without loss of time to

[1] Henry Dearborn (1751–1829) was the son of a physician in Hampton, New Hampshire, studied medicine and was practicing at Nottingham Corner, New Hampshire, but immediately after Bunker Hill Battle he obtained an appointment in the Army as Lieutenant and rose to be Major General. He served throughout the Revolution as well as during the War of 1812, was Ambassador to Portugal, Collector of the Port of Boston and lived several years at Hallowell, Maine, where he farmed a little, practiced a little and then returning to Massachusetts died there. Henry Dearborn was a man of permanent national-historical fame as a Physician, Statesman and Soldier.

Fort Jay, near New York, to which you are hereby appointed, and report yourself to the Commanding Officer.

Respectfully your Obedient Serv't, H. DEARBORN."

Such an order was, however, far from Dr. Spalding's plans. He had already been serving at the Forts in Portsmouth Harbor as Contract Surgeon, and had been hoping that in time of peace he could obtain an appointment in the Regular Army, yet remain in Portsmouth and continue general practice also. He may have replied to this effect, but his letter is lost, and his hopes were shattered by a second letter from the Secretary.

"Washington, May 3, 1802. Dear Sir: Your favor has been received, and I have to reply that it will be necessary that the gentleman who shall be appointed Surgeon's Mate for the Garrisons in Portsmouth Harbor, will be obliged to reside constantly on the Island of New Castle. Consequently, the transfer of yourself to Fort Constitution, instead of Fort Jay, cannot produce the effect which you desire. Your Ob'd't Serv't, HENRY DEARBORN."

Dr. Spalding then offered a further solution of the problem in this way:

"Portsmouth, May 30, 1802. Sir. In consequence of the information contained in your favor of the 3d instant, that it will be necessary that the gentleman who shall be appointed Surgeon's Mate should reside constantly on New Castle Island, I must beg leave to decline the appointment of Surgeon's Mate in the service of the United States, and that, wholly from motives before stated to you, for I should take great pleasure in the Service.

In conformity with Captain Stoddard's information to you, I should feel myself highly honored in serving my Country as Acting Surgeon to the troops that may be stationed in the harbor. Those services I will engage to perform for $30 a month, provided nevertheless, that when I am obliged to go by land, which is seven miles around, and which I am sometimes compelled to by stress of weather, I shall receive a reasonable compensation for horse hire. Sir, I have the honor to be, etc., L. SPALDING."

Some agreement was finally made with the War Department, as proved by documents in my possession; one of them in 1803 showing a quarterly payment of $300, which must have been welcome to a young physician.

Dr. Joseph Goodhue, a son of Dr. Joseph Goodhue the teacher of Dr. Nathan Smith, was then appointed in Dr. Spalding's place, and stationed at Fort Constitution. He re-

mained some years in the Army, retired about 1824, went to Alabama for his health and died there. Those who are interested in old Army Lists will find Dr. Lyman Spalding, still "attached to Fort Jay in New York Harbor."

While this Army affair was underway, many other letters were received and shall now have proper attention.

It will be remembered that in November of the year 1799, Dr. Spalding had expected to attend the Chemical Lectures of Dr. Mitchill in New York but was disappointed, and so informed that distinguished physician. After some months I find Dr. Mitchill's reply.

"New York, March 23, 1800. Dear Sir: — Though I have not answered your letter of November 30, 1799, I have not been negligent of the matters it contained. Always desirous of favoring the scientific researches going on in America, I have taken care that your Edition of the Nomenclature should be advantageously noticed in the "Repository" and to render the review more attractive, there are introduced some new Speculations on the Composition of light and Oxygenous air. You will also find Adams' Dissertation mentioned there too, after the manner of a Brief Abstract, as long, however, as the subject deemed to require. Your "Nomenclature" makes you talked of. It is no longer than yesterday that a physician from Connecticut who called on me for some advice relative to the medical education of his son, inquired of me *where Spalding's "Nomenclature" could be got.* I showed him the Copy you sent me, but told him that I did not know there were any for sale in New York. I hope that the Booksellers have attended to the forwarding of your Numbers of the M.R. The last are no respect inferior to the best of the preceding ones. The Work is highly valued in Europe, and the Editors strive to render it as much Original and American as possible. The Editors of the "Philosophical Magazine" and of the "Medical and Physical Journal" take largely from it. In the last number for February, there are some facts in corroboration of our Doctrine of Septic Acid, which are wonderfully instructive, and very pointed. In the one now in the Press, and to be published May 1, there will be more, and in succeeding numbers more, until the opposition shall be hushed. Your Article of College Intelligence shall be attended to. My Course of Lectures is just finished. Chemistry was never so much in vogue before in America, for even the ladies attend to it. Including these fair votaries of Science, my audiences amounted to more than forty, which is double the number that ever attended at one before. We have a piece of the Rock of Gibraltar here. It, you know, is a mass of Calcareous earth filled with animal bones. This neutralizer of Septic Acid has kept away Pestilence

from that fortress, though it has sustained so many sieges. Think of it, and so near to the Coast of Barbary, too! Bath in England is also constructed on Calcareous earth. Is not much of its salubrity owing to this Material? So is Kilkenny in Ireland!! You see, we are just on the Threshold of Inquiry. The Circle of facts is too wide and too vast to be embraced by an individual. The Town of Campechy on the Isthmus of Darien is built upon a Limestone Rock, and there is a hot climate, and surrounded by low lands and marshes, yet can only one Physician procure a subsistence. Yours with Much Regard, SAMUEL L. MITCHILL."

Dr. Nathan Noyes of Newbury, Massachusetts, who was graduated Academically and Medically from Dartmouth as we have seen was very intimate with Dr. Spalding for several years and wrote to him interminable letters. In order to save postage, Dr. Noyes would begin on a sheet of foolscap and write till he was tired, and later on add enough to fill the sheet which was then forwarded by some friendly hand. I will now insert one of these letters, but abbreviate it as occasion demands.

"Newbury, April 17, 1800. Friend Spalding: I have just now had the pleasure of receiving a letter and a number of the Medical Repository. I am sorry, Sir, to hear you say, that "business is very dull." I am sorry for two reasons; it informs me of your ill fortune, and reminds me of my own. Spalding, I cannot conceive how it is, that you so gallantly compliment and congratulate me upon success I never met. Why, Man! I can assure you that I have hardly earned a bare subsistence. But you seem to have very early learnt the Portsmouth Politeness and received the Sea Port Polish. Pray do not outchesterfield the practice of flattery. When I wrote you my sentiments on Kittridge[1] I considered myself as a pleader, rather than a Judge telling my own story. If you make proper allowance for prejudice, perhaps you may yet find him rather better than a "Poor Devil." No, not much better, neither, for the Devil is certainly as good as his humble servant, — I am pleased with the rank which you hold in the esteem and friendship of Dr. Mitchill.

As for the books you mention, I should be glad to purchase them if the means were in my power, but, as you have not mentioned the expense, it is impossible for me at present, absolutely to decide. This, however, is certain from the number of Volumes, that unless they are small and come low, I shall be unable. Perhaps it may be

[1] "Dr. Kittridge" puzzles me to annotate, and would puzzle any antiquary considering that there were about this time a dozen Dr. Kittridges practicing in New England.

worth your while to mention the price in your next, and, if this should prove beyond my means, possibly you may be accomodated in another way. I feel now under a necessity for purchasing some System of Chemistry. Now, Sir, if you can find it in your heart to part with your friend Fourcroy[1] or Chaptal, till you may find it convenient replacing him, you shall receive what merchants call a Generous Price. The bargain may possibly oblige us both, for to confess the Truth, I have sent to Boston twice this Winter for those books. If you intended offering me the "Annals" and "Review" yearly, there will one inconvenience attend the plan; the necessity of their coming from Europe by way of Boston and Portsmouth would destroy half their value in the loss of their novelty For you know that the excellence of a periodical medical publication consists in its handing immediately, a few improvements amidst a World of rubbish.

(A week later the letter continues:)

I hope, Sir, you will pardon my neglecting to send your "Repository" and the other books last week. I received it on Monday and was kept in one continual hurry till Thursday, when I inquired at Davenport's[2] a few moments after Bagley had started for Portsmouth. I have just received a letter from Dr. Smith. He has operated several times with the trepan, with varying success; has amputated one limb, and operated again for the Stone; successfully as to the operation, but fatally as to the patient. He has also a young daughter which he says is "As Handsome as Ryno" and has a red head.[3]

Spalding! I want advice. Dr. Smith has recommended it to me to publish my Dissertation. I am, however, somewhat suspicious that it will not be more for my literary than my pecuniary

[1] Anton Francois Fourcroy (1755–1809), whose "Collection" Dr. Noyes wished to purchase, devoted his life to Chemistry, and lectured on that and allied topics with an inexhaustible gaiety of spirits. Two years before his death he was shocked by the appointment of a rival to the Chemical Chair in the Imperial University, a position which seemed to all, as belonging only to Fourcroy. From that time he was a broken man, and just as Napoleon created him a Count of the Empire, he died, as it were, from too late a recognition of his merits.

[2] "Davenport's" was the Tavern from which the stage set off for Portsmouth; and "Bagley" was the stage driver.

[3] It is a pity that Dr. Smith's letter on trephining is lost. Dr. Smith never concealed his failures in surgery, though many of them must have been due to unpromising cases, surgical shock and sepsis.

"Ryno" was the name of a son, born some time before, and named, as I have believed, from a mythical fairy-like creature in the Poems of Ossian, of which Mrs. Smith was fond. The young daughter was Sally Malvina.

advancement. Now I know that you did not use to sacrifice friendship to flattery and if you can for a moment lay aside your newly acquired polish so as to give your real opinion of said Dissertation, and its publication, you will be entitled to my gratitude. But, remember, that a character for good judgment is of more importance than a character for politeness to a Professor of Chemistry, and that politeness is measured by true benevolence rather than flattery, with your Humble Servant, N. Noyes."

A second letter from Dr. Noyes shows surgical invention and ingenuity in an Emergency Case.

Newburyport, July 13, 1800. Sir. You will see by the enclosed, that your command of Tuesday was complied with as soon as possible, but the fatality was, that Davenport through excess of business forgot to put the book on board the stage according to promise. I am very sorry, Sir, for the accident, but hope that it will all end well yet. . . . Since writing so far, an accident has occurred which may serve to give you some idea of the present state of the practice of physick in Newbury. . . . I was called in the night to visit a patient affected with ischury. The tension of the bladder and abdomen was so great that he could not lie nor sit, and his impatience such, that he would not stand half a minute in any one position. He said, that he had strained himself when at labor and had passed a great deal of bloody water. Blood was drawn by me till faintness came on, and his water began to flow.

The patient being now at ease a more strict examination was commenced. The blood, he confessed, flowed first, and then the water followed. This led to the discovery of his having a disease three years before, from which time a difficulty of making water had gradually increased till a fortnight ago, when a perfect ischury came on. This induced him to pass a goose quill, till a hemorrhage came on. Our best physician was then sent for, informed of the circumstances, bled him, bathed his feet in warm water and left him to his fate. I found that his bladder had not been completely evacuated for a fortnight and with my fingers discovered an obstruction in the passage. A Bougie was now to be sought for: the apothecaries had none; the physicians had wanted none; a physician who died here four years ago had said that even the great Swett[1] had been unable to make them. However, undismayed by

[1] "The great Swett,' Dr. John Barnard Swett (1741–1798), was intended for the ministry, but after graduating from Harvard in 1771, happened to attend a Necropsy and was attracted at once to medicine. He studied abroad with Dr. Cullen, went to sea as Ship's Surgeon on a voyage to the Falkland Islands, and served during the Revolution on the ill-fated "Penobscot Expedition." He then settled in Newbury, and died during an epidemic of Yellow Fever. The epitaph upon his

these discouragements I went home, took up my lead ladle, and returned to my patient with a set of leaden bougies. One was introduced without much difficulty, and when withdrawn, was followed freely by the water. After the introduction of the second one, the patient declared himself as well as ever he was in his life. But, here is the Point. Why had our Apothecaries never been called upon for bougies? Why had our Physicians never wanted them? But stop! I have not perhaps done perfect justice yet. I did not call on ALL my medical brethren, and one of those on whom I did, had some old pieces of waxen bougie, which had been given him by a patient and one which he had introduced. . . . Please to communicate to me whatever you hear from others, or observe yourself concerning the practice of our profession. It seems to me that there is not yet sufficient freedom of Communication between physicians. We are traveling a rough and crooked road, and find it sufficiently difficult, if we assist each other all we can With Esteem and Respects, I remain, Yours, N. NOYES."

A letter next in date to the one from Dr. Noyes came from President Wheelock of Dartmouth and was handed to Dr. Spalding by a very famous Hanoverian, Peyton Randolph Freeman[1] as Dr. Spalding's endorsement shows.

It would seem from President Wheelock's letter that Dr. Lynn, who I am unable to identify, has asked through Dr. Spalding how to send a son to Dartmouth. Parents of today will be surprised at the infinitesmal expenses of the students of that era.

"Dartmouth College, June 3, 1800. Dear Sir: I embrace the earliest opportunity to acknowledge your favour of the 17th ult. which has just come to hand on the subject which the worthy Dr. Lynn communicated to you respecting the education of his son. As his letter was directed to you, and as I have not the happiness

tomb-stone says: "This accomplished, learned and amiable Physician was torn from a Bleeding Family, and an extensive circle of Lamenting Friends, falling a Sacrifice to his fidelity in the exercise of a Laborious and Hazardous Profession."

[1] Mr. Freeman (1775–1868) was graduated from Dartmouth in 1796, was clerk of courts and practiced law in Portsmouth for more than forty years. He then retired to Hanover, where he had been born. Little did I think when I was at Dartmouth in the Class of 1866 and saw "Old Freeman" slouching across the Campus, that he was a contemporary, attorney for, and a personal friend, of my grandfather, and could have told me a great deal about him, had I only had common sense enough to ask him some questions concerning the past. Grandfather was, however, much farther away from me in 1862 than he is fifty years later.

of a personal acquaintance with him, I have thought it might not be improper to communicate to you an answer to his queries.

The preparatory studies for the Junior Standing at this University, are the English Language, Kaim's Elements of Criticism, Virgil, Tully's Oration, the Greek Testament; one or two books of Homer, Arithmetic, Trigonometry, etc., Geography, Logic and Tully De Oratory. These are the regular Classics (together with composition) attended to here, as the primary studies in reference to the object in view; though there have been some instances of our receiving members to that Standing who have not attended according to our rules to all those identical authors, provided that they had obtained from other writers, and instructions, an equivalent knowledge, in the different branches referred to.

Our Commencement is on the Fourth Wednesday in August; a vacation extending from Commencement, 4½ weeks, and another vacation beginning the first Monday in January and extending 8 and ½ weeks. We have only these two vacations a year.

We occasionally admit youth to the Standings to which they shall be judged on examination to be qualified at the different seasons of the year but our ordinary and Stated times for admission are on Commencement week, and on the first week in October; at one of which times it will be most for the literary advantage of youth who are to be received. . . . Besides the classical studies which I have noted, there are Public Instructions, Lectures and Exercises in common to the different classes. . . . Particular regard is paid to the Application and Moral Condition of the members.

In regard to the annual amount of the expenses of individual members. The tuition, 16 Dollars which sum is divided into three terms of payment. The members all board in private families of good morals, and the price is from $1 to $1.50 cents per week, according as they shall choose to agree. The whole annual ordinary expenses of an individual student including board, tuition, room, wood and contingents may amount to about $100, excepting clothes and traveling and pocket money, which will be but trifling. I fix the estimate on a decent economical plan, though some spend more and some, by frugality, go through with less.

Sir, I have answered the questions that naturally arise from your communications in behalf of Dr. Lynn and have been more particular that any query might be solved, that should arise in detail under the respective heads. You will please to make such use of the contents of this letter as you may think proper for the information of the respectable gentleman who wrote to you. And should he conclude to send his son to this university to finish his literary education, I shall with the greatest pleasure do everything in my power for his usefulness and happiness.

I remain with best wishes, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and humble Servant, JOHN WHEELOCK."

The Autumn of 1800 was now near at hand and Dr. Spalding was called upon to decide an important question: Should he continue to lecture at Dartmouth two months in every year, and sacrifice his practice, or should he resign and lose the opportunities for study attached to the lectureship?

Whilst meditating which step to take, Vaccination was introduced into the United States, and had much to do with his decision to resign the Lectureship and to devote his time to the advancement of the great discovery. Before, however, substantiating what he did to promote vaccination, the letters showing the severance of his connection with Dartmouth may here find place.

The first letter in 1800 concerning the Lectureship is from Dr. Smith, and suggests that Dr. Spalding had made some sort of an offer to deliver lectures as before.

"Hanover, September 8, 1800. Dear Sir. In consequence of your communication to President Wheelock made a few days before our late Commencement, he presented the Honorable Board of Trustees with your proposals, who were unanimously of opinion that they could not agree to your proposals respecting Lecturing on Chemistry. They however agreed to help me to pay you for the money expended on the Apparatus. I am now in haste at this moment, being called in a very urgent trepaning case, but as Captain McClure[1] was going direct to Portsmouth could not omit giving you the earliest information of what the Board had determined. But, you must not accept this as the whole of what I have to write you as soon as I can sit down, which I have not quietly done for several weeks. I will then make you a long letter on particulars. . . . I am with respect, Yours etc., NATHAN SMITH."

On the following day President Wheelock wrote on the same subject.

"Dartmouth College, September 9, 1800. Dear Sir. Your favor of the 2d ult. came to hand before the setting of the Board.

[1] Captain Samuel McClure came to Hanover from Hebron, Connecticut, about the beginning of the Revolution, and was the Village Barber, a position of great consequence in those days of wigs, and daily shaving. McClure commanded a company of soldiers during the Revolution, and took part in many expeditions. When the war was over he served as Postmaster at Hanover, and finally left the town about 1807. I do not find his name in Army Lists, and think that his title was from his Revolutionary services only.

They were fully satisfied and approved of your former attention, as Lecturer in the Chemical department, and wished, that you could have found it consistent to continue in the manner proposed. They were of opinion, that four weeks, or less, would be too short a time to go through the whole course of fifty lectures, with experiments and explanations; as the members would not have sufficient opportunity to attend them with their classical studies.[1] They are sorry that it cannot comport with your business to spend longer time here with the students in that branch, but as you have found it inadmissable, they wish so far as they can consistently, to facilitate your desire, and accordingly they have directed their agent to assist, so soon as the finances of the College will possibly admit, the medical Professor[2] in paying a sum, which, in addition to Fifty Dollars, will amount to the cost you have been at in your apparatus as laid before them by the Secretary. The said Fifty Dollars the medical professor said he had made arrangements to settle. Thus the Board, in consequence of your application, have done what they could consistently to accomodate matters agreeably to you. I shall be always happy to hear of your health, and with best wishes for your prosperity, I remain, Dear Sir, Your Sincere Friend and Humble Servant, JOHN WHEELOCK."

A few days later, Dr. Spalding went a step farther toward resigning and wrote to his friend and Attorney, William Woodward as follows:

"Portsmouth, September 17, 1800. To Wm. Woodward, Esquire, Dear Sir: I am dead, not unto sin, but unto Dartmouth College. Dr. Smith has written me that "the Honorable, the Board have agreed to help me ("Dr. Smith") to pay you, for the money expended on the apparatus." I cannot construe this otherwise than that the money is to pass through Dr. Smith's hands. To this I have no objection. You will therefore receive and receipt for the amount of the bills by you presented, and transmit it by mail to me. You will also wait on Dr. Smith and with or without him, take an inventory of every article, the quantity, etc., that is contained in the Laboratory; this you must be very particular in doing to the satisfaction of all. Whatever money you have collected and not appropriated, you will forthwith transmit

[1] "Their Classical Studies" means that the college students attended the lectures on Chemistry.

[2] "The Medical Professor" was Dr. Smith, whose salary, by the way, was $200 a year, with tickets extra.

The low state of the College finances is worth noting here, for all that Dr. Spalding expected from the college in addition to the $50 from Dr. Smith was $81; and even that the College was unable then to pay.

to me. All the papers, pamphlets, etc., which are to be found in the Laboratory you will carry to and preserve in your office, for Your friend and obedient servant, L. SPALDING."

On the very same day, however, after forwarding this letter to Mr. Woodward, Dr. Spalding seems to have changed his mind as appears from the following draft of a letter to President Wheelock.

"Portsmouth, September 17th, 1800. Sir. Yours of the 8th instant is before me. The resolve of the Honorable, the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College is not only agreeable to my wishes, but favorable to my interest. I shall just observe that having made arrangements, both in business and in my MSS lectures, for delivering the ensuing course, the term of "four weeks" will not be so strenuously insisted upon for the present year. I will consent to tarry so long as shall give satisfaction to my hearers, and authority; provided that the term be anything less than ten weeks, for at that term I should be a great loser. After this course I have not the most distant wish to spend ten weeks at Hanover every year and will then cheerfully give place to the man who is infinitely better qualified to give Chemical Lectures than myself.

If these ideas should be perfectly agreeable to yourself and others in authority, I should be gratified in delivering the ensuing course of Chemical Lectures, but if otherwise, I have not the most distant wish to disoblige you in any particular. I shall await your answer to this, and be governed wholly by it. In the meantime I shall suspend arrangements.[1]

Sir, Your Obedient Servant, L. SPALDING.

P. S. I have written to Mr. W., my agent, to call on Dr. Smith to assist in making an inventory of all my furniture, ingredients for experiments, etc., in the Laboratory at Dartmouth College, for many things are not mentioned in the bills presented. To the Honorable Board, I shall look for the amount of those bills presented, and not to Dr. Smith. Of you, I shall expect payment for all the other articles contained in the Laboratory. Also, you must conceive yourself under obligations to be accountable for the Chemical Ware which Dr. Bartlett has sent on my account. I have noted these Generals[2] that you may see what my expectations are."

The next letter from Dr. Smith is unusually felicitous. All of his letters were written hurriedly and many sentences go begging for Capitals, but they are very legible, although most

[1] "Suspend arrangements" would mean that he would do nothing until hearing from Hanover.

[2] "Generals" hints at "Particular Items" to be mentioned later on.

of them look as if he had plunged a bit of wood into the ink-bottle and written by the light of a tallow candle.

"Dear Sir: — Yours of the 17th instant has just come to hand. I am happy to learn that you are not disappointed in what the Honorable Board of Trust for Dartmouth College have done respecting your proposals made in your letter to President Wheelock. From what I had previously learned of your increasing business at Portsmouth, I had concluded that their determination would not militate against your wishes or interest. Respecting your property in the Laboratory it is necessary that I give you some information. When the Bill of your expenses for the Laboratory was presented by William Woodward, Esquire to the Honorable Board of Trustees, they called on me for an explanation of the business. The first inquiry was: whether either you or I had any legal right to tax them with the expenses of the Laboratory. On this point I was obliged to acknowledge we had not, but observed that it was reasonable that the College should do something to support such an important Institution, and that I felt myself under obligations of honour to see that you did not suffer in your property, on account of what you had done for the Institution by procuring a Laboratory, providing that you should not continue to use and profit by it, and therefore, hoped for some assistance from the Honorable Board, as it would be very inconvenient for me to make out the money to pay your Bill. I readily engaged to repay you for the Glass Apparatus which you purchased of me, which would reduce the Bill to $81, which the Honorable Board have given me encouragement of receiving from them by a Loan, to be repaid when called for. This is all the College have done about paying your Bill, and by this statement you will see, that it is I, who purchase the Laboratory.

Now, Sir, you see the situation of the business between us and the College and between you and me.

Respecting your last proposal, I will observe (and choose you; of three things). That you are at liberty to continue in the business of lecturing according to the Institution; or you may relinquish the business now and receive pay for your Laboratory; or you may deliver the ensuing course of Lectures on Chemistry and then relinquish the business. But, in the latter case I shall not hold myself under any obligations to purchase your Laboratory or any part of it. Perhaps I may want some part of it, but will not be obligated to do it.

I presume you will at once see the propriety of my proposals, and the necessity of a speedy decision on the subject, as the time for commencing the present course of lectures is at hand, and we have much need of time for making preparations for it. I am very happy to hear that you have by dint of merit acquired a good share

of honest fame in your Profession and that your business is growing lucrative. I am, with sentiments of Esteem, your Friend and Servant, NATHAN SMITH.

Hanover, September 30, 1800.

P. S. I have no objections to being accountable to Dr. Bartlett for the Chemical Ware, which he may procure for you, if it does not amount to a large sum, beyond my abilities to pay, if you relinquish the business now."

Before this letter reached Portsmouth, Dr. Spalding was again writing to President Wheelock.

"Portsmouth, October 1st, 1800. Dear Sir. Yours of the 9th ult. was duly received, and although it does not require an answer, yet Mr. Peyton Freeman being in town, I do myself the pleasure of returning you my grateful acknowledgements for the many favors conferred on me. I shall think myself highly honored in the Friendship of the President of Dartmouth College.

The resolve of the Honorable Board was communicated to me by my friend, Dr. Smith, in his letter of the 8th ult. to which I have replied and presume you must have seen it.

I have ordered W. Woodward, my agent, to receive of the Financier the sum due me for fitting up the Laboratory.

I here enclose the "New Hampshire Gazette" containing a Card of mine on the Kine-Pox. This inoculation bids fair to become general among us. I have inoculated a number of the first families in the town. You see I have had the infection but one day. No one doubts its being a preventive of the Small Pox; a lighter disease, and not contagious. With due Respect, Yours Sincerely. LYMAN SPALDING."

Dr. Smith's former letter of the 30th September reached Dr. Spalding on the 12th day of October. Vaccination newly introduced into America was urgent in its demands. Dr. Smith had offered him three alternatives and on the 14th he thus resigned his Lectureship in the Dartmouth Medical School.

"Portsmouth, October 14, 1800. Dear Sir. Yours of the 30th ult. was duly received. I can only thank you for these and your repeated acts of friendship and hope that I may long remain sensible of your gratitude. The conditions of my resignation are these: that Dr. Smith pay to me the expenses which I have been at in fitting up the Laboratory in Dartmouth College, as proposed in his letter of the 30th ult.

THEREFORE ! !

Be it known, that I, Lyman Spalding, do this 14th day of October A.D. 1800, resign the office of Lecturer on Chemistry and Materia Medica in Dartmouth University. LYMAN SPALDING."

CHAPTER V.

Introduction of Vaccination.

Just as soon as Dr. Spalding learned from the newspapers that Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse had received from Edward Jenner late in July, 1800, the first supply of "Infection" ever arriving in America and with it had vaccinated the children with whom he had played at Cambridge, his interest was excited, and he wrote to Dr. Waterhouse for a supply. He also suggested that persons once vaccinated should be exposed to small pox patients in hospitals, and to this suggestion Dr. Waterhouse replied as follows:

"Cambridge, September 6, 1800. Dear Sir. This is the first leisure I have had to answer your letter of the 25th ult. You say you are about opening a Small Pox Hospital, and that you wish to inoculate also for the Kine Pox. Now my advice to you is not to attempt bringing the two diseases together in the same or contiguous buildings, for the reasons adduced in my Treatise on the Kine Pox. Mr. Nancrede, who published the work, tells me that he shall send some to a Bookseller in Portsmouth by Monday next. That work contains all I know on the subject. Will you ask Judge Livermore[1] whether he wishes his son to have the Kine Pox in the approaching vacation with several others? Ten or twelve days carries them through the whole. He expressed a wish to me to that effect. Please to remember me to Colonel and Mrs. Brewster,[2] and tell them I shall write to them next week and send the book I promised.

In haste, I remain your Humble Servant, Benjamin Waterhouse."

[1] Judge Livermore was Edward St. Loe Livermore (1762–1832), a distinguished resident of Portsmouth, whose name is perpetuated to this day by Livermore Street which bounds the Haven Park. He had an honorary degree from Dartmouth in 1800, was, like others of his name, very prominent at the New Hampshire Bar, in Congress and on the State Bench. The son, whom Dr. Waterhouse wished to vaccinate, was Solomon Kidder Livermore, a sophomore at Harvard in the class of 1802. He died in 1859 after an excellent career at the Bar.

[2] Colonel and Mrs. William Brewster kept the famous "Bell" Tavern in Portsmouth and were highly respected personages in their time. Colonel Brewster belonged to a very old family, and died in 1818, aged 77. He was an old-fashioned Landlord, a friend to all of his guests.

Dr. Spalding made immediate answer to Dr. Waterhouse and had by return post this second letter:

"Cambridge, September 6, 1800. Dear Sir. I have only time to say that I have received your second letter and that I will accomodate you with the "matter," etc., at the same pay which has been offered to me, but I declined, namely, for One Quarter of the profit arising from the inoculation, and the contract to remain for 14 months from this time. Abandon the idea of inoculating for small pox and throw all your attention to the Kine Pox. If this idea suits you and Dr. Cutter,[1] you shall be accomodated at once, for half a dozen practitioners stand ready to jump at that offer, and two of them are not a very great distance from you. In haste, I am, Yours, etc. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

P. S. Sam B.[2] is in a fair way of being hooted out of Boston."

On a scrap of paper I find a copy of Dr. Spalding's reply to this last letter:

"Portsmouth, September 10, 1800. Dear Sir. The terms are accepted, and I promise that you shall have One Quarter Part of the next profit arising from my inoculation with the kine pox for the space of 14 months, provided it be not made public before that term expires, and then the contract to remain in full force only to the time of its becoming public. However, on your part it is expected that the like privilege will not be granted to others in my vicinity. Yours, etc., L. SPALDING."

In other words, we have here a "Vaccination Trust." No wonder that the younger man accepted the offer coming

[1] "Dr. Cutter" may be either the distinguished father, or the well-known son of that name, both noted physicians of Portsmouth.

Ammi Ruhamah Cutter, the father (1735–1820), was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1752 with Sir John Wentworth, Royal Governor of the Province, and whose intimate friend and body physician he remained for years. Dr. Cutter served with great distinction during both the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars and then settled in Portsmouth, where he practiced the rest of his life. More intimate details of his life may be found in Kelly's "Cyclopœdia of American Physicians."

"Dr. William," Cutter, his son, practiced in Portsmouth. He was charming, witty, much given to persiflage and to flirtations with his women patients, who "made a great deal of him," as the saying runs.

Dr. Waterhouse was, as we can see, opposed to giving "matter" to Dr. Spalding, the youngest physician in town, and insisted on a partnership with an older man.

[2] "Sam B" (Brown) was Dr. Spalding's classmate at Harvard, but what he had done to be hooted out of Boston, I have so far failed to discover.

Cambridge Sepr. 6th 1800

Dear Sir

I have only time to say that I have received your second letter, and that I will accomodate you with the matter &c at the same lay which has been offered to me but I declined, namely for one quarter of the profits arising from the inoculation & the contract to remain for 14 months from this time. abandon the idea of inoculating for small-pox & throw all your attention to the kine-pox. If this idea suits you & Dr Cutler you shall be accomodated at once, for half a dozen practitioners stand ready to jump at that offer and two of them are not at very great distance from you.

I haste I am yours &c

Benj. Waterhouse

I am B.— is in a fair way of being hooted out of Boston

LETTER FROM DR. WATERHOUSE SUGGESTING THE VACCINATION "TRUST"

from the Professor of Theory in the Harvard Medical School, for up to that date he alone possessed the "Infection" direct from Jenner.

The next letter from Dr. Waterhouse shows that Dr. Sam Brown had been following up the patients vaccinated by Dr. Waterhouse with a view to discovering if "scabs" from their arms could not be utilized to vaccinate his own patients as efficiently as to wait for a supply of the genuine "infection" from Dr. Jenner.

"Cambridge, September 12, 1800. Yours of the 19th informs me that you accede to my proposal "*provided it be not made public before that time expires.*" Now that is too vague to proceed on. Sam Brown may steal it before a month expires, and then in six months it may be diffused over Boston, or it may not. I therefore propose, that the term shall be for twelve months and that will leave you to yourself during the three autumn months of 1801. You, however, will have *got the start of all others*, so much that no one can rival you entirely; besides it will fix you in business. My fee is Five Dollars. You must engage not to supply any other practitioner. Your acceding to this will fetch the infection next post. If you wish to come and see the disease, and *my practice*, you shall have that in the bargain. Yours, B. WATERHOUSE.

P. S. I have a similar application from Amherst in your State and another from a young Doctor going to settle at Hampton. But, if Dr. Cutter and you and I make the contract proposed, this gentleman shall not be supplied. I will supply none within twenty or thirty miles of you, and perhaps further."

To and fro the letters fly, the older man hanging off for more pay and anxious that an older physician shall join hands with Dr. Spalding in order that the percentages to Dr. Waterhouse shall be larger, whilst Dr. Spalding is eager to be the only vaccinator in Portsmouth and so to increase his own renown by being first in the field.

Here we have an undated letter from Dr. Spalding.

"Dear Sir: When I wrote you last I had not seen your letter in the "Centinel." I applaud your policy of making a few Guineas for yourself, considering what pains you have taken in procuring and experimenting upon the Kine Pox. Now, Sir, far from inoculating gratis, or endeavoring to procure the Infection by stealth, if you will permit me to inoculate, I will give you ten per cent upon the fees received for it, till you shall, or by other means, and not through my carelessness, it shall be made public. If these terms coincide with your ideas, you will forward the infection *IMME-*

DIATELY, for "Now is the appointed time" and I promise you shall receive your premium without the least shadow of fraud. With Fidelity, LYMAN SPALDING.

P. S. Pray how do you obligate your patient to prevent the infection being taken from their pustules! !

N. B. I expect that the same privilege will not be granted to any other person in this vicinity!"

When Dr. Waterhouse saw from this note, that nothing was said about Dr. Cutter, as a partner, he insisted upon that physician taking part in the work or the chance would be given to the Doctor from Hampton.

"Cambridge, September 15, 1800. Dear Sir. I wrote you a few lines in great haste on Saturday, since which it has occurred to me that although your first letter on the subject mentioned your being connected with Dr. Cutter in the business of an Hospital, yet nothing was mentioned of him in your last. Now I presume that Dr. Cutter and you are together in this intended inoculation of the Kine Pox, for it would make a material odds, were you to set out *alone* in the operation, whereas with Dr. C. you would certainly inoculate Portsmouth and its neighborhood very thoroughly. *Besides*, "*he* that is not with you" as the Bible says "*will be against you.*" Were you to be alone, I should prefer a specific sum, but if you are united, the Quarter Part would be the most righteous. The Doctor, about settling at Hampton has been with me, himself, this morning, but I will listen to none within 30 miles of you. Yours, etc., B. WATERHOUSE."

Dr. Spalding's answer to this is missing, but in the following from Dr. Waterhouse we see outlined a scheme to divide New England into Vaccination Districts, to distribute the infection for cash, and to frighten others from obtaining humanized virus by insisting that the skilled physician alone could tell when the scab might be scientifically used.

"Cambridge, September 18, 1800. Dr. Spalding, Dear Sir: I am sorry, very sorry that you did not come in person to negotiate the business of inoculation instead of doing it by letter, because every day brings me fresh applicants on the same subject. I have had three physicians from New Hampshire with me these two days, and during their waiting for my determination, I received what I absolutely waited for, *your letter*, which when read I was disappointed in finding no mention made of Dr. Cutter, whose name you mentioned as connecting in your plan in your first letter. As these gentlemen could not tarry any longer, I finally concluded and

exchanged bonds, of which the enclosed is a transcript (*Mutatis Mutandis*) to inoculate the three counties of Strafford, Grafton and Rockingham, excepting the town of Portsmouth, Newington, Rye, Kittery, Greenland and Dover, on an intimation that Dr. Cutter practiced considerably in the last-named town. Thus, have I endeavoured to do what I conceived right, just, and honorable towards you, Dr. Cutter and them. I wished exceedingly *that you had been present*, but pressed as I have been on all sides I feel as if I had done for the best. I have reserved from our agreement *Hanover and six miles around it* in Grafton County, because I thought the physician, whoever he might be in that quarter, should have his chance under the same patronage I gave to others.

I have sent the enclosed form, which is just like the one I interchanged with Dr. Rowe in Vermont, and Doctors Stowe, Ranney and Dr. Billings of Bristol County, Massachusetts and Three Dr. Bartletts in your State,[1] for *three seasons* with the reserve, that if you do not close with my proposals, Portsmouth, Dover, etc., etc., *will be included in their district.* If you and Dr. Cutter feel disposed to sign such a paper as they have, I will, on receipt of yours, send another properly executed and *with it the matter for inoculation.* B. WATERHOUSE.

The sum of $150 mentioned when Dr. Spalding returned The Bond, duly executed is the only hint that I find of the price demanded by Dr. Waterhouse for vaccine virus on a bit of linen thread.

"Cambridge, September 25, 1800. Dear Sir. On my return from Dracut whither I went to inoculate, or rather to set the business going, I found your letter and have taken the first leisure to answer it. I confess, I have been disappointed and have hardly known how to act, since I have been informed that you are going *alone*, without any of the old established practitioners. To give you, a young man, and a stranger, the Matter, to the exclusion of these old physicians is not altogether pleasing to my feelings, independent of my interest. I should, therefore, like that you should be connected with some of them, lest some of them should think hard of me. I, nevertheless, send you the Matter, although

[1] Of the physicians mentioned, Dr. Rowe practiced in Dummerstown, Dr. Thomas Stowe Ranney in Brentwood, Dr. Levi Bartlett at Kingston and Dr. Ezra Bartlett at Haverhill.

Dr. Josiah Bartlett (1769–1835) was graduated both from Harvard and Dartmouth, practiced at Stratham, near Portsmouth and was a member of Congress for several terms. He was very fond of Dr. Spalding as shall be presently seen.

Dr. Benjamin Billings (1770–1852) practiced at Marshfield and was a friend of Webster.

it is very different from my first view of the business. I included Dover, merely because I was informed that Dr. Cutter (who I supposed was to be connected with you) had considerable practice there. Had you have taken a ride up to Cambridge we could have come to a perfect understanding, which it is almost impossible to do by letter, more especially in my constant hurry. I shall therefore make no objection to the bond you signed excepting the changing of the First of September *to the 1st of October* . . . because when the first period was mentioned I had in view an expectation that Dr. C. his son, and yourself would inoculate Portsmouth and its adjoining towns, which would most certainly have made a material difference to me. I have had $150 for a district not containing more inhabitants than Kittery, and the contract I made with Dr. Manning, the Bartletts, etc., was for *three Seasons*. They wished very much for Portsmouth etc., but I told them I was under a sort of promise to Doctors Cutter and yourself, and they said no more about it. Had I known that you were to go alone, in the business, I should have bargained with you for a *specific sum*. I reserved from my engagement, before mentioned, a certain district round Hanover and so down the river.

Young Doctor Manning[1] has the matter and will be as close with it as any of you, by what he says to me by letter. I send you as much thread as I received from England. Yours, B. WATERHOUSE.

P. S. I take it for granted that you are not going to quit Portsmouth to go up to Dartmouth College this season, for the business should be entered into directly, and unremittingly pursued, in order to effect anything capital. As I do not feel quite satisfied at having my hands tied from supplying those old established practitioners among you, I again repeat that I hope you will contrive it so as to admit them and thereby extend the practice through Portsmouth, and its neighborhood, remembering always to date from *the first of October*, instead of the first of September. I have no doubt but the inoculation will do very well all through the winter. I mean, at least, to try it. You must be very attentive to collecting matter from the arm, for I cannot supply more than the first thread. Procure the "MERCURY" of 25th instant and republish the piece in it on the Cow-pox in your Newspapers."

The above suggestion that Dr. Spalding should abandon the Dartmouth Medical School and throw his whole heart into vaccination, probably induced him to resign his lectureship as we have already seen.

[1] "Young Dr. Manning" was Dr. Samuel Manning (1780–1822), a graduate from Harvard and a practitioner at Cambridge. He apparently had obtained some infection from Edward Jenner. We shall hear of him again concerning vaccination, and his promise.

It must have been discouraging to physicians of that era to find that in return for $150 or a Bond for a certain percentage of their gross income from vaccination they were to receive nothing but a bit of linen thread alleged to have been dipped in pure vaccine infection. Nothing loath, however, Dr. Spalding utilized his linen at once and in one day vaccinated thirty patients, and made public announcement of the fact. Having, however, trouble later on with some of his patients, he wrote a note of inquiry to Dr. Waterhouse, as we may imagine, and obtained the following answer:

"Cambridge, October 12, 1800. Dear Sir. I write immediately to inform you that you must take the matter *from the inoculated part* in its limpid state, before purulency comes on (*) and *never* from the pustules which very rarely occur. I find great difficulty in procuring matter for my own inoculation.

I have had applications from Portsmouth and from its neighborhood, and do most strenuously recommend that you offer the matter to Dr. Brackett, and Cutter. With their assistance you will make it more profitable to yourself as well as to me. I never was, you know, satisfied with our bargain, and I never shall be unless those old established practitioners are included. Dr. Jackson *has not the matter*.[1] He applied to me for it last week. He brought some, but it failed. In haste, I am, etc., B. WATERHOUSE.

P. S. The febrile symptoms are the criterion."

Some old newspaper cuttings inform me that Dr. Spalding shared his thread with the younger Dr. Cutter and that together they vaccinated many persons. I do not find in Dr. Spalding's papers any mention of the sum which he

(*) About 9th or 10th day.

[1] As we have just read of Dr. Waterhouse crowing, as it were, over the poor luck which Dr. James Jackson had been having with vaccine brought with him on his return from Europe, only a few days before, this is the place to annotate his career as a great physician. Born in 1777 and living ninety years, Dr. Jackson studied medicine first with Dr. Oliver of Salem, then at Harvard and finally in Europe. He had what was then called a "Handsome" practice and assisted materially in founding the Massachusetts General Hospital, and in bringing from Cambridge to Boston the Harvard Medical School in which he was Professor of Theory and Practice. His later years were darkened by the sudden and early death of a son who promised in medicine even greater things than his distinguished father had accomplished. Dr. Jackson's permanent medicoliterary fame is based on his famous "Letters to a Young Physician."

paid under his Bond to Dr. Waterhouse, but that paper became worthless so soon as it was found that the virus could be passed from patient to patient, the favorite method being to accompany a vaccinated person to the house of a patient desiring the process, and taking the lymph from the part affected. This personal interview assured the new patient of the "neatness" of the person vaccinated.

At this date, the active correspondence between Dr. Waterhouse and Dr. Spalding ceased, but in December, Dr. Spalding probably finding himself in difficulties asked once more for advice and received from Dr. Waterhouse the following note:

"Cambridge, December 18, 1800. Dear Sir: Did you know what a multitude of letters I daily receive and how much my time is engrossed, you would not wonder that I am a forgetful correspondent. Had you acceded to my proposal at the beginning, viz., to have come to Cambridge as several others did, you could have seen the cases you wish, have known the disorder and the mode of conveying it. It would require many sheets of writing to designate every criterion, and it is not in my power to answer with the requisite precision every correspondent. I shall, therefore, publish again on the subject. Hundreds have been and still are inoculating with spurious matter; that is, matter that has been good but degenerated, or not taken at the proper time. I have stopped inoculating myself. I expect to receive fresh matter from England, every 4 weeks for a year to come, after next March. The vaccine matter appears to me to be nearly worn out in this country. I shall publish something in the course of a week or two.

I am with esteem, Yours, etc., BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

Can you send me Dr. Bartlett's description of the Kine Pox?"

Dr. Bartlett just mentioned is probably the same physician who at this juncture wrote the following notes which show how Dr. Spalding was becoming well known from his campaign of vaccination.

"Stratham, October 9th, 1800. Sir: Having no personal acquaintance, yet seeing an advertisement notifying your inoculating with the varioloid vaccine, I write, wishing to know the Method you take to prevent persons from inoculating with Matter from *your* patients. From the little experience had in the business as yet I am much pleased with similarity of the Kine, to the Small Pox, three patients having passed through the former under my care with little disturbance except the arms, one having about two hundred pock, but no pustulation, the other a less number. If it

will not trouble you too much, I wish you to write and inform me respecting the Matter. With Esteem, your Humble Servant, JOSIAH BARTLETT."

After using a scab, which Dr. Spalding had sent, Dr. Bartlett replies by the hand of Mr. George Wingate:

"Doctor Bartlett's Compliments to Doctor Spalding, and would inform him that the Kine Pock scab produced a spurious tumor in one case and in others, where inserted, did not take or produce any effect. If you have some on a thread will you be kind enough to let me have some if you think it is not effete or if it is fresh? Pardon my frequent applications and the trouble I give you. The bearer, George Wingate,[1] Esquire will take the virus to me. Accept my Respects and good wishes, JOSIAH BARTLETT."

Soon afterward Dr. Spalding asked for Dr. Jenner's book on inoculation and was answered thus by Dr. Bartlett.

"Stratham, October 30th, 1800. Dear Sir. Your inquiries concerning Jenner received. Doctor S. Ranney of Brentwood now has the Book. I will endeavor to get and send it to you next week. We could find only this, (one) that we purchased in Boston when visiting Dr. Waterhouse. By a late letter from him I find that the failure within *his* practice is equal to *ours*. I frequently inoculate in both arms at the same time; in general, on the 5th day (tho' sometimes not till the 9th or 11th) after effectual inoculation, there is a circular ridge around the puncture, which is pretty certain to produce a good inflammation. We find, that producing a slight irritation by friction on the arm, before inoculation will tend to accelerate the absorbtion of the virus. I wish, Sir, when you write me you would inform me of any symptoms that occur out of the common line in this disease, and we will do the same by you. I am Sir, with Esteem, Your Ob'd't Serv't, JOSIAH BARTLETT."

A few days later Dr. Bartlett sent Jenner's pamphlet, and with it a letter showing how the "Vaccination Trust" was broken.

"Stratham, November 3d, 1800. Dear Sir. Jenner's publication you herewith will receive. After you have sufficiently perused it, please to return it. The Kine Pox is now inoculated by many Physicians within our neighborhood, although I believe the Matter

[1] George Wingate, the "Bearer" was a tiller of the soil at Stratham. He was a son of the famous Paine Wingate, Clergyman, Congressman, Senator and Judge, was graduated at Phillip's Exeter Academy and at Harvard whilst Dr. Spalding was studying there. Wingate spent the rest of his life at Stratham as a Farmer and survived until 1852.

was procured in a clandestine manner, and it appears that Dr. Dwight[1] is endeavoring to push himself by inoculating all, *indiscriminately*. I believe that Doctor Manning has spread the Matter in this State, by way of Newbury. If he received the Matter from Dr. Waterhouse, as I heard that he did, and has spread it (as is reported of him) openly, Dr. Waterhouse ought to be informed of it. I wish you success, and am with Respect, etc., JOSIAH BARTLETT."

[1] Dr. Josiah Dwight of Portsmouth (1775–1855) was born in Belchertown, Connecticut, and after studying medicine with Dr. Babbitt of Stourbridge, Massachusetts, settled in Concord, New Hampshire. He happened to be in Portsmouth on a visit, saw there the ocean for the first time and took so strong a fancy to its beauties, that he settled in Porstmouth for life. His obstetrical Case Books are still extant and contain an account of more than 2000 births at which he officiated. Judging from the period which they covered, we might calculate that in his entire life he officiated at as many as Six Thousand births. These note books contain special mention of the Presentations, Convulsions and Instrumental Deliveries. Dr. Dwight lost his sight from Glaucoma in his seventieth year, but almost to his dying day was in high repute as a consultant.

CHAPTER VI.

New Acquaintances and Old Friendships. Marriage. 1800–1802

Vaccination quieted down in the Autumn of 1800, owing to lack of virus and the fear that the operation could not be successfully performed in winter. Before the renewal of the Campaign of 1801–2 a few letters received in the interval may find mention.

The excellent clientage which Dr. Spalding soon obtained in Portsmouth is shown by this note from "Sir John" Wentworth, a Lawyer and Magnate living in the old Wentworth House at Little Harbor. He was educated in England, then practiced in Portsmouth and finally returned to England where he died. The first Sir John Wentworth, the Royal Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, had long since retired to Nova Scotia, whilst this "Sir John" was thus quoted, in writing, to tell the two men apart.

"July 26, 1800. Dear Doctor. Mrs. Wentworth has by an accident broken the fore tooth that the travelling dentist discomposed. She requests that you will at once bring a substitute, if you have any prepared, and has sent the chaise for you.

I am sorry that I have a return of my rash, or it may be the effects of a cold. You can judge best when you come. I shall take the medicine again, tomorrow in case I do not see you today.

Yours with Esteem, John Wentworth."[1]

One of Dr. Spalding's scholars and early medical friends was Abraham Hedge who settled in Chester, Vermont, from which place he wrote two pleasant letters which may be inserted here.

"Chester, October 25, 1800. Dear Sir: I received yours of a late date mentioning the manner in which I may get my pay, which will be very agreeable to me. I expect to go to the College

[1] This letter is endorsed "Sir John" in grandfather's handwriting. Mrs. Wentworth thus suffering with her teeth was a daughter of Colonel Michael Wentworth and the widow, Benning Wentworth (Martha Hilton), the heroine of Longfellow's poem. Dr. Spalding, as we shall later see, was named Executor of the estate of the Michael Wentworths.

in a few days. If agreeable to Dr. Smith I will leave your Note with him. Your not mentioning anything about being at the College this Fall, leads me to suspect you have withdrawn from that lucrative employment. I am sorry, as I had anticipated the pleasure of seeing you there. Why are you so laconic in your scripts! I fancy your time is wholly taken up with your profession or feats of gallantry. Your mind being fallow on these subjects you could only pop the question to me, whether I was yet married. But no, my good friend, I am simply cloistered in my room like a Phœnix in the dust three fourths of the time.

The access that I have to a good library makes this an agreeable retreat. My professional business is small, tho' flattering, as it has been very healthy ever since I came here, and as I have been entrusted with some operations in surgery which I should never have had so near Dr. Smith, as Woodstock was, I am infested with niggardly quacks, who never fail to exert their abilities in defaming me, but some important victories have lessened their influence.

In your mention of the kine pox I perceived some of the same spirit in some of your medical brethren. But, by the by, what is the matter I can't obtain some of the vaccine matter? Are you under such restrictions as to be unable to help me to it! ! Or, will not Dr. Waterhouse grant me help to it? For love, I think it likely, he has none for me, knowing nothing more about me, than that I dunned him pretty sharp for your money. Do inform me how I can obtain it, as it might now be of great service to me, and could not injure him or you, being at such a distance. It will soon doubtless become general, when it can be no object. Do write, and if in your power send me some of the matter. It may be done up in a bladder, and conveyed in a letter if you see fit. Let me know how you succeed in this as well as your other business; whether Cupid troubles you any; and what is the state of politics. By the way, our Assembly are now sitting, who are Federal, and will choose such Electors as will vote for Adams, President and Pinkney, Vice. This may be depended on. . . . You say a correspondence would be agreeable. Well then let me have a letter every week or at least as often as can be of advantage to you in writing or me in reading. To relate every Case in our practice might be of mutual service. But, till I receive another from you, shall remain your friend and Humble Serv't, ABRAHAM HEDGE.

N. B. There is a post office in this town, so you may be at no trouble but to lodge your letter in your office, as I will do here."

To this the recipient must have replied at once, for in the following month he received a second letter from Dr. Hedge, written much like the other without punctuation and largely void of capitals.

"Chester, November 18, 1800. My good friend: Yours of the 10th this day received and likewise a blank containing matter for inoculation. Your description of the disease is of more consequence to me than the matter as I have already obtained it from two different quarters, but the disease was so light in those I inoculated as gave me doubts whether it was the genuine cow pox. However, it answers your description in two cases out of about a dozen inoculated. I find much difficulty in making it take, but more in convincing people of its being a sufficient barrier to the small pox. I have an Article in the warrant for town meeting to see if the town will grant me permission to try experiments for their further conviction, by inoculating with the small pox, some who have had or shall have the cow pox. For, unless I can use more effectual means of convincing them, than by reading experiments performed in England, or even in Boston, I shall not inoculate 20 in this town.[1] The price you or your friends set on the infection sent me would have been gladly paid, had not I already received a supply which, that you may not think I act the rogue, I will inform you where I got it. While I was at Dartmouth College, from which I have just returned, there came a Doctor More, from Dummerstown, there, with the infection from whom Dr. Smith obtained it, and I from Dr. Smith. When I returned I found some more infection left with Mr. Hubbard by my friend, Captain ——— of Windsor.

Dr. Smith had just obtained a subject for dissection, and as I had no urgent business here, I tarried there a few days.[2] His lecture rooms were much crowded, he having more, he told me, than ever attended before. Some who had attended your lectures, said that Chemistry dwindled in your absence, which I verily believe. Tho' I consider Doctor Smith as a great and universal genius, and possessed of more virtues than generally fall to the lot of one man, yet I think him wanting in accuracy as a public instruction.

I left your note with him, after making some small endorsements on the back, for sums paid by Danforth's note.[3] I also left

[1] Medical historians of today might give time to discovering if anything in favor of "vaccination-tests" was accomplished in the Town Meetings of 1800–1805 as suggested in Dr. Hedge's letter.

[2] The glimpse of a subject at Dartmouth and Dr. Hedge riding so far to dissect a "part" throws light on early medical history.

[3] "Danforth's note" was given to pay for a Course of Chemical Lectures, by Dr. Isaac Danforth (1763–1851) who with Dr. Goodhue, the instructor of Dr. Nathan Smith, attended lectures at Dartmouth in order to obtain a degree in medicine, without which they had both been practicing medicine. Dr. Danforth was graduated M.B. in 1800, and practiced many years at Barnard, Vermont.

with him Chisholm's "Yellow Fever"[1] and some Dissertations, all of which I suppose you have minutes of. I am trying the effects of Foxglove in the Phthisis Pulmonalis,[2] so highly recommended, and find it to have the effect in lessening the frequency of the pulse, but have no hopes of curing the complaint. I have reduced the patient's pulse from 130 to 40 in a minute, and if a cure is obtained, you shall have the particulars . . . from, Your very Humble Servant, ABRAHAM HEDGE.

Another letter arriving at this time at Portsmouth shows great eagerness to understand vaccination and to be early in the field. Dr. Samuel Gerrish, the writer (1773/1809), was graduated at Dartmouth in 1793 and was a member of the State Medical Society, though rarely attending the meetings.

"Sanborntown, New Hampshire, November 12, 1800. Sir. Since I saw you I have received a letter from the quarter I mentioned, and the matter was effectual in the first instance, but on a second and third trial failed, and none was taken from the boy first inoculated. The Doctor is not certain of procuring the matter until he will go to Boston about a month or six weeks hence. It has become the topic and rage in this quarter, and I think it probable that I may inoculate a larger number, and make more, even under Doctor Waterhouse's restrictions, than to omit till Spring. That only, induces me to submit to his restrictions. I think that his method of restricting New Hampshire will answer his expectations but a short time. I will thank you to supply me with the matter as soon as you can, consistently, which I suppose may be in a few days, and send it wrapt securely in three or four separate papers taken from different patients and enclosed in a letter to Concord Post Office, which may be brought directly to me by a regular post to Sandborntown in ten or twelve days, I hope from this time. I will also thank you to write the incumbrances under which I take it, and I will be accountable.

I shall probably see you in two or three months. If you please, write a line by the Post, who will come to Concord next week, how many days before I can probably have it, and with the matter, favor

[1] Dr. Collin Chisholm's "Essay on Malignant and Pestilential Fever appearing in Guinea in 1793–4," and based on his experience in British Guiana, was published in 1795 and was much in vogue at that time, as the latest thing out. After leaving South America, Dr. Chrisholm practiced very successfully in Bristol, England, and then retired to London where he died in 1825.

[2] Judging from the rumor in 1801 that Dr. Hedge was dying from Pulmonary Hemorrhage, it would seem as if he were here his own patient and experimenting with Foxglove.

me with what directions you may think necessary from your own experience. If you cannot supply me in 12 to 15 days, be so good as to write, that I may procure it from some other quarter. Pudding Time I fear will be short.[1] Your Servant, SAMUEL GERRISH."

Bridgehampton, on Long Island, was far from Portsmouth, yet Dr. Spalding's paper on vaccination must have caught the eye of Dr. Samuel Haines Rose of that village, for at this time he wrote concerning the new cure for small pox.

"Bridgehampton, New York, 17th November, 1800. Doctor Spalding, Sir: Although personally a stranger to you, I have taken the liberty to address you at this time, having lately heard that you are inoculating with the *Cow or Kine Pox*, which, ever since I first heard of its discovery in London, and of its security against the infection of the *Small Pox*, I have been anxious to have it introduced in this Country, more especially in this place, where a very large proportion of the inhabitants have never had the Small Pox. As I wish to do all which lies in my power to eradicate that dreadful disorder, the *Small Pox*, and being pleased with promoting new and useful discoveries, my request to you, Sir, is that you would forward me by the Mail, (as soon as convenience will permit) some of the Contagion of the *Kine Pox*, either in Matter or whatever form you preserve it, and inform me by Letter with your mode of inoculating with it, and management through the complaint, whether it is necessary to give any medicine, or confine them to any particular diet, and how long after the inoculation before the Symptoms or Eruption appear, or any other items you may think proper or necessary to communicate — for all which trouble, Sir, and for your obligedness if you will forward your Bill to me, I will make you ample satisfaction by transmitting you the Balance by the Mail, and you will forever merit the esteem and lay under the most lasting obligations, Sir, Your Obliged Friend and Humble Servant, Samuel H. Rose, Physician.

If there should be danger of Frost injuring it, please to secure it against it. Excuse haste, the Mail is waiting. S. H. ROSE.

P. S. Please to direct your letter, etc., to Samuel H. Rose, Postmaster, as my letters are Frank'd. S. H. R."

In leaving Dr. Rose, I regret to say that I find no reply to his interesting requests.[2]

[1] "Pudding Time" probably means "The Soft Thing" for which Dr. Waterhouse was looking in making money from his District-scheme.

[2] Dr. Rose (1761–1832) was educated in New Jersey, served as Surgeon's Mate in the Revolutionary Army, then returned to Bridgehampton, his native place and practiced there the rest of his life, acting also as Postmaster and Village Storekeeper.

As November had now arrived and Dr. Spalding had heard nothing concerning payment for his Apparatus at Hanover, he asked his Brother, Silas, to make a personal inquiry. The letter which Silas wrote on his return from Hanover is difficult to comprehend owing to poor punctuation, but this much can be made of it.

"Cornish, November 11, 1800. Dear Brother: I went to Hanover as you requested, but did not make out according as you wrote to have me, for there was not any money in the Treasury, and I could not get any, but Esquire Woodward was not at home. He was gone to Court at Chelsea, and I could not stay on uncertainties till he should come home, for they could not tell when it would be. He had collected thirty or forty dollars on your notes, and I got Dr. Smith to see Esquire Woodward and get that, and send it by Esquire Gilbert to you. Dr. Smith told me it was uncertain when you could get the money from the College, except it was in the Treasurer's hand, and then the Trustees has purposed for him to give you a note for the same. Likewise, the Doctor has taken up notes against you to the amount of fifty dollars, as he told me; the one you have of Hedge, and the other he had of Dr. Adams from Walpole or Keene, I do not remember which he told me. The Doctor wishes to see you to settle, for he does not know what is due for your things which I got fetched up for you last winter, and cannot settle for them until a bill is sent up, and, he had no money till he had left off lecturing. There was about forty attended, which he calculates will afford six hundred dollars profit. He wants you there, for there is nobody taking your part, and I asked whether if you had a mind to come next Fall, whether he would be fond of it. He told me, yes, he should. Your parents think if you can do without the money, you had better let it be, and come and lecture next Fall, and settle your business yourself. For, you can do it better than others for you. All well at Cornish with us and the rest of your friends. I shall write again by Ith Chase when he goes to Court, concerning other matters. SILAS SPALDING."

This letter emphasizes the poverty of the College, whilst the mention of Forty Students has its historical value.

Ithamar Chase, brother of the Bishop, was a school mate of Dr. Spaldings; together they founded a Town Libary in Cornish. As Mr. Chase would soon be attending the General Court, he would be glad to carry a letter to his friend in Portsmouth, as we have seen.

Soon afterward, Dr. Noah Spalding wrote from Hanover as follows. Noah Spalding (1772-1836) was not related to Lyman, but liked him so much as to name a son for him.

Noah was graduated at the Dartmouth School in 1800, practiced in several places in the East and after moving West, died at Delaware, Ohio.

"Hanover, November 20, 1800. Sir. I am happy to learn that your success in your profession is increasing, and that you are beginning to reap the fruit of industry and perseverance. I have not been a little disappointed that you did not come to give Lectures this term, for although the business has not yet met with great encouragement, it is not doubtful that perseverance would have made it more lucrative, and I am supported in this opinion by many good men in this place, but, as business increases with you, it might not be an object worthy your attention. You may, perhaps, have expected to see me or to hear from me in some other quarter, but I was obliged to spend so much time in the study of Latin and Natural Philosophy that I had not leisure to read Rush's works, and Gregory's "Oeconomy"[1] without staying this term. — Medical Lectures will close for this term in less than two weeks, when it will be necessary for me to shift for myself. I have had Newbury in contemplation, but find that Dr. Kinsman[2] is not likely to leave the place, which will put a stop to my intentions. From your account of Castine, I still entertain a favorable opinion of it, but as I cannot make a tour that way sooner than 3 or 4 weeks from this time, I should be obliged to you to inform me whether you know of any material change in the State of affairs relative to physicians which might render it improper[3] to attend further to that matter.

You were pleased in your last, to tax me with the neglect of writing respecting your Laboratory. The truth is, I could write no good, and therefore chose to write nothing, for Day[4] and March[5]

[1] Gregory's "Oeconomy," a famous test book in its day, was written by George Gregory (1754–1808), Preacher at the Foundling Hospital in London and Rector of the Parish of West Ham. His celebrated work, "The Oeconomy of Nature Explained" appeared in 1796, and was soon widely adopted for College instruction.

[2] Dr. Kinsman of Newbury was probably the same physician who afterwards practiced in Portland, Maine, and died there in 1808.

[3] "Improper" referring to Castine simply means that it was held to be so in those days, to go to a town where there was already at least one physician.

[4] Dr. Sylvester Day, the other medical student, practiced in Middlebury, Vermont after obtaining his M.B. in 1801, then was appointed Surgeon's Mate in the United States Army in 1807, served meritoriously in the War of 1812 and died as Army Surgeon in 1851.

[5] John March (1774–1834), the student who helped to break North's apparatus, was graduated A.B. and M.D. at Dartmouth in 1797 and 1801 and practiced at Londonderry, New Hampshire, and in Eden, New York.

had burst the foot piece of North's apparatus[1] into a thousand pieces by a mismanagement of the gas. I have nothing new. If I had, you would be presented with it.

I am, Sir, Respectfully yours, N. SPALDING.

We have now to return to two valuable letters from Dr. Nathan Noyes. The first one begun in September did not arrive until November 10th. Though rather long, I give it as it stands:

"Newburyport, September 22, 1800. "See the graves open!" and shall not my mouth open too? It shall, for though my lips have been as it were, sealed, my heart has been like the belly of Elihu, like bottles of new wine, ready to burst for want of communication, (Job xxxii–19) — to burst with vexation, at the influence which grey hairs bestow upon medical ignorance. But the mystery to you now is, wherefore my lips have been so long sealed. Have I been so much occupied with business that I have not found time for writing? No. Have I been insensible to the bonds of friendship and forgetful of the duties of a correspondent? No. The reason is merely this: last Fall we agreed not to incur the expense of communication by mail and when I have had opportunities for private conveyance, fortune has rendered it absolutely impossible for me to write. At last, taught by experience, I have determined to write beforehand, and preserve the letter till an opportunity for sending it should present.

Since writing you before, I have been at Hanover, just cast my eye upon the Indian Charity School, and spent four or five hours on the Plain. I could hardly command my feelings to tarry longer, for things seemed strangely altered since we walked its streets together. The scholars were gone, every one his way. The inhabitants were many of them sick. The Ditties[2] were no where to be found. Nabby Smith was just married, Nancy Fuller[3] was published to Davis: S. B.[4] looked as if she had just arisen from a sick bed; H. B. looked as though she might be recollecting the commencement of the Christian Era to settle the dispute about

[1] Dr. Elisha North (1771–1843), the inventor of the broken apparatus was a physician and maker of Chemical Apparatus, practicing at Goshen, and later at New London, Connecticut, where in 1817 he established one of the earliest Eye and Ear Institutions in America. He also wrote copiously on medical topics.

[2] The word "Ditties" therein mentioned means the young ladies of Hanover.

[3] Miss Fuller was a daughter of Caleb, prominent in the Church at Hanover.

[4] S. B. and H. B. were of the Brewster family, whilst Nabby Smith I have not discovered as yet.

the close of the Century. Wealthy Brigham, and others all gone! But DEGENERACY seemed written in the most striking character on the Medical School, though the Law Shop was entirely closed. Bartlett[1] had obtained a degree! and Torrey[2] was called the most promising man in the School! ! ! Of what was it then composed? ? ? Doctor Smith was as usual very good and very busy. The Trustees refuse to give him support, and he is obliged to seek it where it is to be found. He is one of the Best Men in the world, and ought to meet success on every hand, but, Alas! he is too venturesome (in the language of Old Women). While he laughs at the people of New Hampshire for their spirit of enterprise, he is leading in the van! But, perhaps I am saying these things at the wrong time, for he has lately refused to perform the operation of lithotomy, on account of the unpromising condition of the patient.

I believe that I mentioned to you some time since a species of fever which has been prevalent in the lower part of this town, and that its appearances, though pretty uniform, differed a little from those of any fever I had ever before seen. I have since had an opportunity of learning its name to my cost, or at least to my vexation. Accident, as it were, threw into my hands every case of this kind that happened in the first month or two, except in two families; in those, two persons died, and four others were sick five or six weeks apiece. My patients all recovered under the treatment already mentioned, and all, except one BEGAN to recover some time in the first week. This success at length recommended me to a man who has always employed, and whose wife was still much attached to, Dr. M. S.,[3] Member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc., etc., etc. The Patient grew very sick, and on the seventh day was taken with copious sweat and then very faint. The wife was alarmed, sent for me, and thought she must see her Old Doctor. I pronounced the patient better but consented to have advice.

The Old Doctor came, gravely and solemnly advanced to feel the pulse, desired me to pull aside the window curtains, and staring

[1] Dr. Bartlett, who comes in for a little sneer, was Joshua, long unknown to the Dartmouth Catalogers, but who is now known to be Dr. Joshua Bartlett who practiced at Unity, New Hampshire, and obtained from Dartmouth University in 1818, at the time of the celebrated Quarrel between the Trustees and the State, the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

[2] Dr. Torrey was Augustus who practiced many years in Chelsea, Vermont, and died in 1858.

[3] Dr. Moses Sweat, the "Old Doctor" had an honorary degree from Harvard in 1790. He was famous for "A Medical Journey" on horseback as far south as Charleston, South Carolina, in search of facts, drugs and experience in medicine, which he published not long after his return. It is amusing to hear him called "old" at 66.

the patient in the face assured him that he had the Old Fashioned Fall Fever, which could not begin to abate in less than seventeen days. The patient frightened almost into a syncope sighed out, "I am exhausted." You will probably be at a loss to account for the terror of the patient, but if you knew as well as he what havoc this same Fall Fever has made here, you could no longer be at a loss. Dr. S. thinks it a fever peculiar to this town and neighborhood. Now, why had I not thought to call this epidemic of JUNE, a FALL Fever? ! It would have been a lucky hit! But my evil genius would have it otherwise, and the good lady determined that I knew nothing of the disease. It was therefore necessary, that the Old Doctor should attend with me. The next day not happening to meet with him, I left a note. He now had an opportunity of reading some circumstances that he would not deign to hear the day before. Then, it burst in upon him, like a new day, that the fever has already past its Crisis! And, therefore ought to be treated with rhubarb and columbo to evacuate and correct the putrid bile. The cathartic I deferred for a day or two, but what was my surprise when within twelve hours this father of medicine insisted upon evacuating biliary calculi from a patient who never had had one symptom of jaundice, who was now reduced with fever, to a state of almost continued faintness. In vain was he told that the patient had never borne more than half so violent a cathartic. He could assure me that it was absolutely necessary, and he had given the same dose an hundred times. Finding it a hopeless task to attempt convincing a man whose ideas were barricaded by grey hairs, and whose opinions were built upon the pure basis of his own experience, I had nothing else to do but to agree in dividing and assessing the property of our patient, or ask my own dismission. But, Alas! how imperfect is even that knowledge which is founded on experience! ! !

This same OLD Doctor has I believe had but three patients with this fever since; one of them is dead, another is hourly expected to die, and the other has been but lately attacked.

Toward the beginning of this tedious story I mentioned a family in which the fever ran out to a prodigious length; in the fatal case many weeks. Toward the close of the business, I was called in and explained to their physician my manner of treating the disease with Calomel. Whether he has designed to follow my advice or not I can not say. But if not, he must have discovered some remedy as good for he has since met with the very best success.

(After going at this point into very minute detail of all the symptoms which he had seen in all his cases and which would be tedious to note at this point in full, Dr. Noyes continues his letter.)

I was called in a while ago to a boy who had been affected a few hours with most of the symptoms, but especially great action of the carotids, and stupor. The stupor was almost equal to that of an apoplexy. I gave him calomel and aloes. The next day I found him in a chair. I mention therefore the use of calomel in the first stage, and could state some other things to the same purpose. If the disease be suffered to run through the first week without interruption, it brings on diarrhœa. If the physician should still fear to turn the course of the disease, it continues without much abatement with pyrexia, and then leaves the patient either in the arms of death, or with a slight yellowness of the face to a long train of nervous complaints, the pyrexia gradually subsiding for 4 or 5 weeks more."

And with these words and no salutation, the long letter ends.

The second letter from Dr. Noyes is in answer to one handed to him by Rev. Joseph Willard, who was Rector of St. John's, at Portsmouth, a graduate from Harvard, and later on officiating in Newark, New Jersey, where he died.

Undated but post marked October 14.

Friend Spalding: Three days ago I had the pleasure of receiving a letter by the Rev. Mr. Willard, (or rather by a BOY) with word that Mr. Willard had gone out of town. Now this has been the case with all your "friends" whom you have sent except one — and when she came I was obliged to go immediately out of town. As for my friends who have gone your way, they have all given me the slip. But I have written a letter almost as large in bulk as the whole that you have sent since my last. It is too heavy in matter and too light in spirit to go by mail.

You mentioned in your last, having begun to inoculate with Cow Pox. If you have now or shall soon have infection to spare, and will venture it with me, you may oblige your humble servant by sending it by the stage driver. If you send the infection, I would thank you to communicate what you know of the management of the disease; whether you inoculate your patients at their homes; what restrictions you lay them under; what are your fees, etc. for though I have seen much written on the subject, I have not yet obtained satisfactory information on these points.

While you are increasing (in this way) the catalogue of diseases, I am endeavoring to add to the long list of the Materia Medica. They seem indeed, already as much overgrown as Sauvage's "List of Human Infirmities"[1] but many of their articles deserve as little

[1] François Sauvage (1706–1787) was a physician in Bordeaux, France, and a monster of erudition, writing hundreds of pamphlets and Treatises. His first essay was written at the age of 20 on this odd topic "Love; Can it be cured by medicines made from Plants?"

attention. LETTUCE has been mentioned by writers as a narcotic, but in so slight a manner that I was entirely ignorant of it, when first led to make experiments on the milk that exudes from the stalk and leaves, when cut. This milk, perfectly dried and swallowed in quantity of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a grain when going to bed acted pretty powerfully as a hypnotic. Two grains, inspissated, perhaps equal to 1 grain, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ grains dried, taken at 11 A.M., first raised the pulse, and then depressed it, produced great coldness of the body, removed headache, then brought on vertigo succeeded by a sense of fulness and heavy dull pain in the head. All the experiments that I have yet made with it, have been upon myself, and with me, who am a dyspeptic, it has always greatly increased hunger and considerably the power of digestion. It has seemed to increase rather than diminish the excretions; in a word to produce in the alimentary canal, effects nearly the reverse of those of opium. The lettuce-juice milk is easily and abundantly procured by cutting the stem of garden lettuce any time after its running up to flower.

With much respect, I am sincerely yours, N. NOYES.

P. S. I think there is in one of your Repositories an account of Fowler's method of preparing and using his "Mineral Solution"[1] for periodical headaches and agues. If you can turn readily to the place I wish you would write me a short abstract. Yours N. N."

This letter from Dr. Noyes was followed by a note enclosing a very long document, parts of which are worth printing. The note says:

"I have this moment an opportunity of sending your book and an old letter. Baynton's Method of treating ulcers[2] I have tried, but without success. N. N."

The "old letter" says:

"Newburyport, November 21st, 1800. "May the name of Noyes and Lettuce be glad tidings to the sick man's ear." Even so let him be! For, notwithstanding your ridicule, Sir, the Lettuce

[1] "Fowler's Solution" of arseniate of potash was invented by Richard Fowler (1765–1863) who, though delicate as a child, lived to a good old age. He was graduated at Edinburgh, was a Licentiate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of London, and practiced at Salisbury, England. He wrote many medical papers and was interested in Deaf Mutes, his "Physiology of Thought in Deaf Mutes" being a curious work. His "Solution" is as useful today as it was a century ago.

[2] Thomas Baynton (1769–1829), a practitioner of medicine in Bristol, England, wrote, in 1799, a very famous treatise: "A New Method of Treating old ulcers of the Leg," which had great success and made a sensation in surgical circles, like any fashionable XX Century remedy.

Gum deigns not to hide or bow her head or even becloud it with a blush. It cannot, indeed, pretend to an equality with Lockyer's pill,[1] or the Patent Tractor, but promises nevertheless to be a pretty useful remedy, and in many cases, claims a preference to opium. This preference is grounded chiefly on its different effect on the alimentary canal and on Animal Heat. The refrigerant effects of 1½ grains were so considerable in my own case as to oblige me to retreat to a blazing chimney in the midst of one of the hottest days in July. But that was considerably too large a dose and more than has been ventured on since. In one other case in which the medicine was used nearly as liberally, similar effects were produced. This was a case of extreme debility following a menorrhagia, attended with watchfulness, violent pain in the side, pain, and bearing down in the pelvis. Opium was inadmissable, both on account of costiveness, and in its having already, when used, left the patient disposed to syncope, which had sometimes continued with very short intervals for several hours. The Lettuce Gum was administered at night. The next morning I found that the patient had slept some, was free from morbid heat and pain, except a little in her head. The Lettuce was continued two or three nights longer when she was too well to need a physician, though she had before been sinking under the use of the most powerful tonics, and had sunk very fast when cathartics or saline refrigerants had been used. But what sets off the Lettuce here in a still more favorable point of view is, that the disease lasted but a fortnight whereas an exactly similar one had a few months before withstood, nearly five weeks, the powers of cinchona, bitters, chalybeates, myrrh, guaicum, etc."

(Dr. Noyes goes on from this point to note in tiresome detail (easily omissible) other instances in which lettuce had proved its value and from these he proceeds to a diffuse account of headache cured by arsenic in mint water, after cinchona and iron had failed.

Farther along, after profuse details concerning asthma and cough treated successfully with lettuce, he quaintly asks: "Now, why did the period of coughing in the first case follow the Lunar Day and in the other, the Solar Day!

[1] Dr. Noyes' fling at Lockyer's Pill (1600–1672) suggests that Dr. Spalding was still using that ancient remedy, of which we find mention on Lockyer's monument in St. Saviour's, Southwork, London:

> "His Virtues and his Pills are so well known
> That Envy can't confine them under Stone;
> But they'll Survive his Dust and not expire,
> Till all things else in th' Universal Fire."

Was it because of the latter case being related in any way to the Remittent Fever of which there have been several instances in this neighborhood?"

He also says, "The expectorated matter yielded to the Darwinian Tests,[1] appearances of pus.")

At this point in his exceedingly long letter, Dr. Noyes laid it aside, and taking it up again two months later, he begins:

"December 15. Your favor came soon to hand, but the books which you have mentioned have not yet arrived. Mr. Elliott[2] has however promised to bring them. He called the 5th day after inoculation when there were considerable tumor and redness about the wound and soreness in the axilla. He has not called since.

With regard to your resignation from Dartmouth, I do not know that I heard it mentioned by any of the Authority, but Dr. Smith, and he mentioned it only at the moment of our parting. The chief of what I have heard has come from the students. Some of them appear to have been desirous of having our friend Adams for a Lecturer. They thought that he would treat them with more familiarity, would be more original and eloquent in his lectures, now that he had been armed with a diploma, seal and ribbon. I believe, Sir, (and you seem to have required of me to speak plainly) that you did not pay quite enough attention to the *LANGUAGE* of your lectures, for that was almost the only thing about them of which the scholars in general were capable of judging. I believe, too, that there were considerable exertions made by several persons for a change and that at the moment most favorable to their wishes, you brought forward your motion for curtailing the period of your lectures. Now, Sir, I must observe to you, as I have done to Dr. Smith, and to several of the scholars, that I consider your resignation at this time as an unfortunate thing for the College. Nor can I yet see, that it will be of any advantage to yourself. I fear, as well as you, that the Medical Institution has been so nipt in the bud, that it will never unfold those fair flowers which we had hoped would spread their fragrance far. Where now is our Dartmouth Medical School! I fear that your friend Mitchill's SEPTON has

[1] The "Darwinian Tests" may have been introduced by Erasmus Darwin (1738–1802) or Robert (1756–1848). Erasmus practiced in Sam Johnson's town of Litchfield, was a huge, unwieldy personage but a practitioner of great mental acumen. Robert obtained a large practice in London. He weighed 340 pounds, wore knee breeches and gaiters to the last, had great success in medicine but hated to operate and never stopped a woman when she began to cry.

[2] Mr. Elliott was probably Rev. John Elliott of Boston.

struck it with a mildew, a necrosis, a yellow fever, or some other of its magic ills.

In a week or fortnight I expect to go to the Westward with a sleigh. If you have any Commissions for me I shall discharge them with pleasure."

Under this Dr. Noyes, upon his return writes with different pen and ink:

"The journey is performed."

On another line he dates:

"Tuesday, February 10, 1801. Mr. Prescott[1] has this moment called for your books. I find this old letter on hand, but have not time to add more than my acknowledgements for the loan of your book and that I remain, Your friend, N. NOYES."

Many of the letters of this Collection treat of Masonic affairs, but as I plan in this Life to depict only the medical career of Dr. Spalding, they must be omitted. It may be said, however, that Dr. Spalding was for several years Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, and that owing to this office he enjoyed a very wide acquaintance throughout the State.

I find in this connection that associated with the Rev. George Richards,[2] a Universalist preacher in Portsmouth, he contributed to the First American Edition of Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry" (1770), "A History of Masonry in New Hampshire" which remains permanently valuable with its lists of historical names of Portsmouth citizens and Masonic officials. He also laid, with Masonic Rites, the Corner stone of St. John's in Portsmouth, June 24, 1807,

[1] Mr. Prescott was George Washington Prescott (1776–1817), who was graduated at Dartmouth in 1795, obtained a commission in the Army, was repeatedly Judge Advocate at Courts Martial at the Forts in Portsmouth Harbor, and later District Attorney for New Hampshire.

[2] Rev. George Richards, who officiated at the wedding of Dr. Spalding, here deserves annotation. I find him after the Revolution, a teacher in Boston, and occasionally preaching. He was pastor of the Universalist Church in Portsmouth from 1793 to 1809, and then removed to Philadelphia where he died about 1814. He was a profuse Masonic writer, with Odes, Poems and Orations, and was very patriotic, delivering an Oration on Washington and transforming the Declaration of Independence into a Poem which he published at Faust's Statue, 45 Newbury (now Washington) Street, Boston, in 1793.

placing beneath it a box with gold, silver and copper coins.[1]

When Dr. Spalding heard from his friend Noyes that the Dartmouth Medical School was languishing, he meditated another course of lectures at Hanover and wrote concerning the subject to his brother, Silas, from whom he had this reply:

"Cornish, January 7, 1801. Dear Brother: I will inform you that I have seen Dr. Smith and asked him some questions about the business that you wrote, and he said that for his part he should be fond of having you come and lecture next Fall. Then I asked him how long you would be obliged to stay if I should take an opportunity to write to you concerning the business that he and I had talked of. He thought ten weeks, but could not tell; that was not for him to say, but the Dr. was in haste and did not get off of his horse, and I did not ask him so many questions about it as I should have done if I had time. But he told me to write for a Bill of those things that you bought, and he would make out to pay for them. I wish you would write the longest time that you will stay, and I will state to the Doctor whether his proposals will do with yours.

Mr. Chase[2] has brought forth a demand against you for ten dollars borrowed money and about eight dollars out of the store, and wished I would write to you about the matter and what you would do about it, for he wants it. Likewise I write to know how or whether you have laid out any way for to settle it, and you must write back by the bearer hereof, because Mr. Chase said he must have it. We received a fine present from you by Captain Chase,[3] and a letter which pleased your parents. The shoes please the boy greatly.[4] If you have any old stockings that you can't wear I should be glad that you would let me have them to cut for the boy, and I will allow you for them, when I see you. Don't send them to injure yourself about the matter. If you can get a lobster and send up, I should be glad, for it would be quite a sight to some. I

[1] Sometime before this event Dr. Noyes of Newburyport had written: "The coins which you wrote for cannot be procured here in any quantity, nor can a Gold Medal of Washington. A Silver one has been kindly offered, and a dozen of Tin (Gratis) which may be enclosed in wax to prevent oxidation. In such a manner they were placed under St. Paul's Church here."

[2] Mr. Chase kept shop in Cornish and was one of the many Chases in that town.

[3] Captain Chase, probably Ithamar, was a member of the State Assembly.

[4] The Boy was Sanford Spalding, at that time almost a year old.

have sent by Mr. Kimball[1] twenty dollars in money for fear that you can't get in your money and pay your bills for Board as fast as your bills arise, and so you may pay me when you collect yours at Hanover. If you have any old hat that you don't wear, you may send it up for it will do me some service for every day. My parents have sent two cheeses as a present to you and my wife[2] can't send any on account of being carried but she wishes you well.

SILAS SPALDING.

N. B. They do say that there is a man by the name of L. Spalding that is a going to be married, to, we do not know who. Therefore I wish you to write the name and whether that you are going to keep house by yourself, because that my wife will, if she can, send you some butter, for Mr. Kimball is going down again. See Mr. Kimball and come up with him if you can make it convenient to have him carry you back again. Adieu."

The gossip in the end of the letter may be deciphered in this way:

When Dr. Spalding reached Portsmouth in 1799, he made the acquaintance of Captain Peter Coues, to whose daughter, Elizabeth, born December 16, 1779, he was at this time engaged. Peter Coues, the FIRST of that name, so far as known, was born in St. Peter's Parish in the Isle of Jersey about 1705, and was in all probability, originally known as Pierre Le Caux. He emigrated to America and we find that on November 4, 1735, he married at Portsmouth, Miss Mary Long of Plymouth, a descendant of the Drakes. Peter Coues was a Merchant Mariner out of the Port of Portsmouth the rest of his life. He had previously served in the Royal Navy as a Petty Officer, a position which he had gained from his wife's relation to Sir Digby Dent, Admiral of the Fleet. His son, the second Peter Coues, was born in Portsmouth, July 30, 1736, was also a ship master, was married three times, and had thirteen children, most of whom died young. Dr. Spalding and Miss Coues were married October 9, 1802, and had five children: Elizabeth Parkhurst (1803–1878) who died unmarried; Adelaide Coues (1805–1898) who married Captain Joseph Foster of Gloucester, Massachusetts; Lyman Dyer (1810–1892), my father; Alfred Peter (1815–1844) a master mariner, lost at sea from the Ship

[1] Mr. Kimball was the stage coach driver from Cornish and Claremont to Portsmouth.

[2] "My Wife" was born Theodosia Holton, of Windsor, Vermont, and lived to be 92.

"Normandie"; and Edward Jenner, who died in 1833, aged 14.

Captain Peter Coues, my great grandfather, died in 1819 at the age of 82, and Mrs. Spalding, his daughter survived her husband Dr. Spalding several years, dying June 2, 1838, at the age of 59.

A few days after the meeting with Silas Spalding just mentioned, Dr. Smith followed up the question of the lectures in this way:

"Cornish, January 24, 1801. Dear Sir: I received your favor by Mr. Woodward; respecting your proposals, I will make another overture. I think you did wrong in writing as you did to the President last Summer. I do not think that the President or the Board of Trust have or ought to have any control over your lecturing. It was I who employed you, and they had no business with you respecting it, nor do I think till they give us some money for our services that they ought to set bounds to our performances, provided we do not injure the Institution or the University. Now I will say this to you in confidence: that you are at liberty to come and deliver the Chemical Lectures at what time and as long or short a Course as you please, or you can make it advantageous to yourself, and I will give you all the support I can. Study your own advantage in the case and I will be responsible to the Board for the rest. If you should think of lecturing, let me know of it and I will conduct myself accordingly.

Respecting the Notes that I hold against you, if you should keep your apparatus, they may remain in my hands unpaid till you come up to deliver the next course of lectures.

I have only hinted these things to you, being at Cornish, and finding an opportunity to send direct. I will write you again, when at home, and will be more particular. I am with Respect, your Friend and Servant, NATHAN SMITH."

From a letter of Dr. Noyes, next in date, we hear more concerning this topic.

"Newburyport, March 29, 1801. Dear Sir: I have the pleasure of being able to acknowledge at once, the receipt of two letters from your pen. The one which you did me the honor of introducing your Friend Peck,[1] I was so unfortunate as not to have time for

[1] Your friend Peck was William Dandridge Peck (1763–1822), then living in Kittery, Maine. He had been graduated from Harvard in 1782, but was now carrying on salt works at Newcastle for his father, who had lately retired from the profession of a naval architect.

Professor Peck, as he later on became, was an ingenious man, made his own microscope, and composed a list of birds seen in Kittery. He

opening, till after his departure. Indeed his hurry would not permit him to take a seat, so that I had no chance of showing him any other civility than receiving and returning his hat in the same moment.

From an expression in your letter, I am led to fear that I have excited ideas concerning our friend, Adams, a little different from what I ought to have done. I do not recollect ever to have heard him say or to have heard of his saying that he wished to be a Lecturer in Dartmouth. No, Sir; What I have known of being done to effect that has been done by those friends, a part of whom you had to encounter at Hanover, the winter before last. As for the affair of Mr. Prescott,[1] I believe that he partly misunderstood my expression. I did not say, or did not intend to say that you were obliged to resign the office of Lecturer. This, Sir, was my idea: that you could not carry your plan for contracting the term to four weeks, and this I retained, till I received your last letter. I took the idea from the plan having been rejected by the Board of Trustees, last August, and their not having met since; and, thought that the conversation of Dr. Smith tended to confirm it. Therefore, when Prescott told me that you were about returning to your office, I concluded that it might be agreeably to the old establishment. With regard to the question whether you had better return or not return, I can hardly presume to give advice. I have told you already that I considered your resignation as a misfortune to the College, but still doubt how far that evil may be repaired by "4 Weeks Absence from Portsmouth." I suspect that in order to make the business profitable for yourself and for the College more time might be devoted to the College, for four weeks are altogether inadequate to the purpose of giving any considerable knowledge of Chemistry to persons busied in half a dozen kinds of other exercises.

For yourself, if you adhere to your old plan, the Authority[2] will be soured, the alienation of the scholars will be probably increased, and you will find yourself in a disagreeable situation. For, at Hanover, my friend, there are few resting places between Zenith and NADIR.

Even Dr. Smith, I am pretty confident, does not LIKE your plan.

visited the White Mountains in 1803 and published an account of the Flora of that region. He won a gold medal for an essay "On Slug Worms" and was famous for his account of the Sea Serpent which he saw off Portsmouth Lighthouse. After being appointed Professor of Natural History at Harvard, he spent the rest of his life in Cambridge.

[1] The Affair of Mr. Prescott refers to mere gossip brought from Dartmouth by him, concerning the Lectureship.

[2] The Authority simply suggests that those in Authority would be peevish at him.

The other day I had the pleasure of announcing a new remedy; now I have the pain of announcing a new disease. New, I mean to the Materia Medica, and Nosology. I have indeed heard the words Daimonophobia, but nowherewith any appropriate meaning, or if with any, for a merely mental affection. But, here, ALAS! we find this affection combined with diseased sensation and muscular motion. Yes, in a most horrid manner. Two patients of mine have had, I believe, as many as a hundred paroxysms of convulsions in a day! This you will perhaps say is no new disease. First hear the whole history, and then judge whether the convulsions are more than a mere symptom.

You have probably heard of the STIR, the AWAKENING or REFORMATION that has happened among us this winter. It has amongst a certain class of people put almost an entire stop to business, and made MEETINGS the order of the day! ! Yes, and of the Night! These, have been the work shops of disease: there, heated imaginations have been heated higher, by the reaction of expression. There, the continual blowings of sympathy have inflamed the passions to a degree resembling the combustion of hydrogen. The effects show, how well-persons, affected with *PARTIAL MANIA* may agree when their hallucinations are the same. Had the man who fancied his limbs were glass, met with a Society who had similar notions, how careful would they have been in handling each other's brittle bodies! and how would they have reprobated the rest of mankind for their foolish temerity! You see that I consider my townsmen as maniacs. I am confident that if one of our present fashionable speakers had appeared in public in any common time, he would pretty generally have been taken for a madman. This disease in its milder forms first manifests itself by a crying out in public generally in the midst of some Prayer or Speech. It is a sort of howling such as you have probably heard from women of great irritability when in the midst of a rapid labor. It seems to me a mixed expression of pain and horror. More or less of this peculiarity of one seems to run through all the different stages of this disease. The cry is often attended or preceded by various gesticulations and convulsive twitching according to the severity of the case. In one, the disease was ushered in by swooning followed by convulsive tremors, and then the cry! A never failing symptom is a violent pain at the scrobiculus: craving at the stomach, pulse slow, soft, and languid. The breathing commonly corresponds. The countenance exhibits a peculiar kind of maniacal wildness.

As to the convulsions, the patients first fall into a kind of syncope, presently the limbs would begin to twitch and then to be violently agitated, whilst the neck and bodies would be bent backward. As the convulsions left the extremities, they would seize

upon the thorax and heave it like the waves of a pond, forcing out the breath in groans and cries. A violent palpitation comes on at the same time, together with an attempt to bite the attendant. The fits come 10, 20, in quick succession, and sometimes amount to HUNDREDS in the 24 hours. In the first case these convulsions lasted several weeks. One patient had just suffered from a concussion of the brain, but, as it acted just like the other, the symptoms convinced me, that concussion was not the SOLE cause. Various remedies were of no avail, the paroxysms increased in frequency and the friends were convinced that the patient had not long to live. In what seemed a new disease I tried a new remedy; weighed out a grain of Lettuce gum which soon produced an hour of quiet sleep. This induced me at the next visit to prescribe 4 grains to be given in two equal portions, at intervals of six hours. This had the desired effect, and until the operation of the second dose had ceased there were no more convulsions, or delirium. The gum has been continued several days and the progress of amendment has been evident. The pupils of the eyes have however been more dilated. I am convinced therefore to entertain a pretty favorable opinion of the *ANTISPASMODIC* power of Lettuce gum.

According to your request I shall inclose a specimen of the gum. It would give me pleasure to send you more, if in my power. If you have occasion to use any of it, I wish that you would weigh the doses and write me the results. For, I begin to have some serious thoughts of stating my experiments on the subject to Dr. Mitchill. I think the medicine too useful to be concealed.

You published if I mistake not, last year, an account of your having extracted considerable proportions of magnesia from the Specimen of Green Stone[1] which you took from our neighborhood. I would thank you for a short sketch of your Process, and some account of the results. For, I have been experimenting some time on this stone and can in no way obtain any magnesia worth reckoning. When shall we hear from the "Annals" or "Review?" The money is in the purse! Do well, Farewell, and be assured that you are still growing in the esteem and friendship of Ego Je."[2]

With this letter from Dr. Noyes all mention concerning the Lectureship at Dartmouth ceased.

[1] The Green Stone still abounds in Newburyport, but I have never yet heard that it had been exploited for magnesia, something which from Dr. Spalding's experiments might seem worth the while.

[2] Dr. Noyes' account of Religious Mania ensuing upon Revivals, has medico-historical value, because the same syndromes are in these days known in Russia as Kilkushism, and are treated with Hypnotic suggestions by Bogdanoff.

Some time in the year 1797 Dr. Spalding with Ithamar Chase established in Cornish a Town Library, and soon after arriving in Portsmouth, he tried to revive the Portsmouth Library, a private Institution, by means of new subscribers. Once elected Librarian, the position brought him many acquaintances and one morning in 1801, at which time we have now arrived, he received a letter addressed in this odd style:

"To Doctor. A Gentleman who formerly had his lodgings at Mrs. Moore's and Mrs. Frazier's in Pitt St., and afterwards took up his abode by Parson ——— Assistant Minister to Dr. Haven. With a Pies of the Famous Eye Root used by the natives of Guyana. Portsmouth. New Hampshire."

On opening it, he found a communication from Mr. Nicholas Rousselet, one of the most interesting men who ever lived in Portsmouth. The first trace that I find of him from an old Cash Book of his in my possession is of his being in Boston in 1787, at which time he sold flax seed and oil for a Musical Society and Charity Convention in that town under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. Stillman and Rev. Mr. Parker.

I next find him in Demerara, in 1796, and then in Portsmouth at the end of that year, where he remained until after the death of his wife, in 1800, when he returned to Demerara whither his daughter, Lucy Adrianna, followed him and where I presume that they both died.

He offered himself to Miss Katharine Moffatt of Portsmouth in St. John's Church by handing her a Bible opened at St. John's 2d Epistle, "And now I beseech thee, lady, not as though I wrote a new commandment, but that which was from the beginning, that we love one another." She, it is said, returned him the Bible opened at Ruth 1: 16, with this text: "Whither Thou Goest, I will go."

Mr. Rousselet owned considerable real estate, and collected a fine Museum in Portsmouth, remnants of which may still be seen in The Athenaeum.

Here is his letter, exactly copied, word for word:

"Sir. I sent you the Root of a Tree; the Juice of it, is used by the natives of the Country for the cure of Sore Eyes Inflammation etc. You please to Scrape the Root and Squeeze the Juice, for I suppose it will be dried up before you get it — inform me of my friends and acquaintances and ask Parson (I forgot his name) if

he will be so kind to Instruct my Daughter at Mrs. Purcell, the french language. I will pay him handsomely and if she writ me a Small Letter in the french language in twelve months, from the day of his Tuition, I promise to pay him as a Compensation for his particular attention Twe and twenty Dollars: Cash.

I remain D'R S'R Your Most Ob; Servant. N. ROUSSELET."

Not long afterward Captain George Boardman, a Master Mariner of Portsmouth brought another letter from Mr. Rousselet thus directed:

"To the Gentleman Secretary of the Portsmouth Library. Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Sir: the best gift a Father can give his Child is a good education. under that Head I understand Every Improvering Of the mind. As Literature is a Essential part of the improverment, I have sent my Daughter Lucy Adriana Rousselet Twenty Five Dollars in Specie to purchase a Share in the Portsmouth Library; You be pleased to admit her a Member and to give the Deed in her Name and Heirs after her, or So as other members have receive it . . . it may occasion other Misses to follow Lucy Rousselet's Example for those Misses will become in time mothers and by that means the Aggrandisement of the Portsmouth Library will insensibly take place and become in few years a Extensive Collection; I remain with Respect, Sir, Your Most Ob Servant: No. ROUSSELET."[1]

Another acquaintance now formed was with Dr. David Ramsay (1749–1815) who was graduated at Princeton and at Pennsylvania University, served as an Army Surgeon during the Revolution, and was a Member of the Continental Congress. Numerous medical papers, a "History of South Carolina" and a "Life of Washington" attracted much attention. He introduced pure water into Charleston, and worked indefatigably for twenty hours out of every twenty-four. He was killed by an insane person for some fancied grievance. Dr. Ramsay's hand-writing is very difficult to read, but his two letters of the year 1801 are worth the eye strain involved in deciphering them.

[1] I print these notes as they read. If they look odd, so do our attempts in writing letters in a foreign language look odd to natives in that language. I believe from frequent use of Dutch words, and mentions of Dutch Sea Captains in Mr. Rousselet's Cash Book, that he came from Holland.

"The Eye Root" may be the Jequirity plant of the XIX Century, an infusion from the seeds of which is much used in the cure of trachoma, a contagious eye disease of today.

"Charleston, South Carolina. April 14, 1801. Sir. I received your Syllabus of Lectures on Chemistry, and have perused it with great pleasure. You have in some respects improved on the arrangements of your predecessors. It gives me much pleasure that your University has paid so much attention to the important topic as to establish a Professorship for instructing our Youth in Chemistry, which is but a novel study in America. I was among the first pupils who attended Dr. Rush, the first Professor of Chemistry in America. That was 30 years ago, but we knew little of the matter at that time. Botany and Chemistry appear to me to be among the most important studies in our young country. I am also pleased that you are drawing attention to this, and particularly to our vegetables and minerals.

I feel myself obliged for your letter and present, and would gladly receive every Literary Work that our Country produces. If anything of mine was deemed worthy of acceptance or exchange, I should consider myself the obliged person.

You mention the Extract of Lettuce used as an Opiate. I would be much gratified by hearing farther from you on that subject. How is it prepared? In what dose is it used and what are its specific effects? I regret I have no acquaintance with any of the Gentlemen of your University. The brother of your President was my Classmate at Princeton in 1765,[1] but I have been informed that he is dead. I have heard that your President was here, leaving an elaborate work "On the Rise and Fall of Nations."

I rejoice to hear of every Literary undertaking that bids fair to raise the reputation of our new Country. We are making rapid advances in wealth, population and commerce. If we can see to it, that our improvements in Science and Virtue are equal to our other improvements, we shall be the First People in the World. You will, herewith, receive a copy of my "Review of the Eighteenth Century," which I beg you to accept, and to believe that I feel myself highly honored by your attention. I am with Great Regard, etc. DAVID RAMSAY."

In replying, Dr. Spalding forwarded some Lettuce-gum by a friend from Portsmouth and in due season was favored with this second letter from Dr. Ramsay.

"Charleston, November 20, 1801. Sir. I received your favor of September 30, by Mr. Folsom with whom I have also had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance. He has also been my patient, and the very last I had with the Yellow Fever. The practice which

[1] The allusion to the "Brother of your President" and "Your President" are obscure for no Wheelock appears on Princeton Catalogs nor did any Wheelock write the book mentioned.

I found successful in other cases, succeded with him. The principal part of this was salivation. In every instance where the patient salivated freely, he recovered. Mr. Folsom took ten grains of calomel every two hours until my object was attained. I then pronounced him safe. In some other cases I have given 180 grains of calomel without effect as to salivation. In those cases death was the consequence.

John Hunter's position[1] that two actions cannot exist at the same time in the System is the foundation of this practice: perhaps of all efficacious practice in medicine. This is a great and luminous idea, which in the course of time will, I doubt not, greatly lessen the number of incurable diseases.

I thank you for your communication in relation to oxygen.[2] I believe it to be a remarkable medicine, but many experiments are necessary to ascertain its precise virtues and effects. A few have been made here with various success.

In the proper Season I shall have some extract of lettuce prepared in the manner you direct. If it produces no constipation, and no affection of the head, it will be a very valuable addition to the Materia Medica.

On my reading your letter to Mrs. Ramsay,[3] who had resided 8 years in France, she informed me that during her residence there she had often known French Physicians to prescribe Lettuce Tea in Catarrhal and even in Consumptive complaints and with good effects. This must have been in consequence of its anodyne powers.

Have you ever used Rhubarb in powder as a dressing to old sores? I have used it in cases in which the process of granulation seemed to be at a stand, as it appeared to me to assist nature in renewing that process, especially where the sores are covered with a black slough!

Your Fellow Student in the Republic of Medicine. DAVID RAMSAY."

[1] John Hunter (1728–1793), idle as a boy, became a famous physician. His writings were enormous in quantity and stimulating in quality. As a lecturer he was not successful, but as a writer, investigator and original thinker he stood alone.

[2] The oxygen mentioned in Dr. Spalding's letter to Ramsay was a favorite remedy with which he had made many experiments at Portsmouth.

[3] Mrs. Ramsay before her marriage was Miss Martha Laurens, daughter of Honorable Henry Laurens, Minister to Holland and a signer of Peace between Great Britain and this Country. Miss Laurens was very generous to the French peasants during her long sojourn abroad.

CHAPTER VII.

Public Tests of the Preventive Value of Vaccination. 1801.

Although Dr. Spalding had vaccinated many people in Portsmouth, most of the population held aloof from fear of introducing a poison into their system or from dread that the new disease would be worse than the old. Progress in vaccination was also slow, because no proof of its value as a preventive against Small Pox had been shown in America. At most, vague rumors to that effect had come from abroad, although it was known that Dr. Waterhouse after vaccinating his children had "taken them through" a Small Pox Hospital, without subsequent harm. In a later essay he claimed that the first public tests of the preventive effect of vaccination were made at Noddle's Island, in Boston Harbor, in 1802. Documents now before us, however, show that similar public tests were made by Dr. Spalding at Portsmouth in 1801.

On the 29th of June, 1801, Dr. Spalding published in the "Portsmouth Oracle" a CARD, in which he stated that he was forming a Class for Vaccination Tests, so that when a case of Small Pox should occur, the members of the Class could go and live with the small pox patient in the hospital used for that purpose and be inoculated also with the small pox virus from the patient. Four persons accepted the invitation to what seemed a rash experiment and after vaccination, waited until August 1, when a man with small pox entered the hospital. The Class, including Dr. Spalding, joined him and remained one week, when a second case appeared and with these two patients the class lived on intimate terms and were inoculated with the actual virus. When the members of the class all came off scot-free of the small pox, the efficacy of vaccination was believed in, and large numbers were successfully vaccinated.

This Historic Class consisted of Silas Holman, a merchant on Pier Wharf, Henry and Eliphalet Ladd, the sons of Colonel Henry Ladd, all of Portsmouth, John Gilman, the son of Mr. John Gilman of Exeter, and of Dr. Spalding.

Until an earlier date is proved by documents, it would seem that Dr. Spalding was the First Physician to vindicate publicly the preventive value of vaccination against Small Pox.

Flushed with his success he sent the "infection," as the scabs were then called, to Dr. Smith, who thus replied:

"Hanover, August 25, 1801. Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you since I wrote you last. I am under great obligation to you for the kine pox infection, which I received in your first letter. I have always been of opinion that we should arrive at such a degree of knowledge about the business of kine pox as to make it a substitute for the Small Pox, and I have attributed the failure of it in several instances to our ignorance of the disease, and the proper mode of communicating it. I have used some of the infection, which you sent me, but it is not yet time to determine anything certain respecting it, as I have never submitted any of my patients to the infection of the small pox, which I intend shortly to do, and will then write you of the result.

Respecting medical affairs I have nothing very important. People will die with the consumption and cancer in spite of Arsenic and Alkalies. You have doubtless heard of the famous cancer curers in Philadelphia and New York. We have lately had melancholy proof of their power, in this part of the country. A Mr. Goodwin of Putney had a large tumor on his left side below the axilla, which was of the cancerous kind. I extirpated the tumor and charged him and his physician to watch, and if any new tumor arose, to have it extirpated immediately. About six months after the operation a small tumor appeared in the site of the former. He came to see me on the subject after it was as large as a walnut. I urged him to let me extirpate it, as it was quite circumscribed. He promised to come and have it done soon, but went to New York, where something was done, which caused the tumor to mortify, either by internal or external means. I do not know the particulars, but it left half a dozen behind, worse than at the first and in a short time so injured his health, which was good when I saw him, that he returned cancerated, and in complete despair of a cure. I purpose to learn the particulars of the treatment, and will then publish the Case for the benefit of the New York Cancer Curers.

I have lately on a well known principle of the Animal Oeconomy, been very successful in curing debilitated limbs, such as are emaciated and with flabbiness of the muscles. I direct the patient to plunge the limb into the coldest water possible for a minute or two, as the case may be, and then plunge it into water heated above an hundred degrees. This repeated for some time has been abundantly useful, more so than any other ever before employed by me, and

finding this treatment successful with a part of the body, I have applied it to the whole, and with advantage.

I have had a very singular case in Claremont, where a tumor was formed in the uterus which weighed two pounds, 9 ounces. It was, after producing what the woman termed a "bearing down" for six years, expelled by the contraction of the organ and action of the abdominal muscles, so that when I was called, I found it attached by a cord or rope similar to the umbilical cord of the foetus. I separated the tumor by tying the cord above where I cut it off. The tumor had no appearance of organization but was entirely of the steatomatous kind. The woman has recovered her health to a degree. The growth of the tumor affected the breasts and she had milk in them like a woman who is pregnant.

I lost a patient a few days since where I amputated the thigh. The case went well until the 11th day from the operation, when he was attacked with intermitting fever (having been exposed to the contagion of it before) and he died on the 7th day from the attack of the fever. The sore was nearly healed when he died.

Respecting our settlement, it will be quite impossible for me to close my business with you so as to send it by the bearer, as it is now past midnight and he goes tomorrow morning, early, and I, in no preparation to do it so soon. But, you may rely on it, that I will not neglect you much longer, and think you may depend on some communication from me about the 1st of October. I have been too busy this Summer for my profit, as I have been obliged to neglect collecting entirely. My bills have amounted to a moderate sum, but it does not help me at present.

I have just heard that Dr. Abraham Hedge is dead.[1] He died by bleeding at the lungs. He was in Chester. He sent for me, but I was at Walpole, and did not see him. I have written much, I fear too much for your patience. If you get out of business, let me know and I will write again. I have not read what I have written, nor have I time to do it, so you must take it as it is and pick it out. With High Esteem, your friend, N. Smith."

Another letter from Dr. Smith may here find place; undated, but probably written in September, 1801.

"Dear Sir: I have just received your letter with the enclosed infection which I will immediately make trial of. The other which you sent me did not succeed in producing the disease, and I did not much regret it, as my business has been very pressing here this season, so that I could not have given it a proper degree of attention. But, for the future, I will attend to it, and expect to have it

[1] Dr. Hedge did not die at this time as we shall see from a later letter from him.

in my power to put it to the test with the infection of the small pox. The people here want to have the efficacy of the kine pox proved, over and over again. I have received your other letter, asking me to write to General Bradley, which I did immediately and in as pressing terms as possible, and I hope that it will have effect. John Langdon and Nathan Smith, will, I think, have some influence with the General.

My business in practice has been, as usual, more than I could get pay for, though I have lately done better in that respect than formerly. I believe I wrote you about my operation for the Stone, or rather STONES, as there were 217 extracted, which proved successful. I have had no capital operations of late, more than an amputation of the arm. I have lately performed an operation for a large hydrocele on Mr. Bellows of Walpole, which is progressing toward an entire cure. I lately heard from your brother. Your father's family are all well. Mr. Winthrop is here. I was acquainted with him in London. He is the second person I have seen from London since I left there. With Esteem, NATHAN SMITH."

A little note from Dr. Spalding to Dr. Crawley of London is worth inserting now because it shows how physicians then imported their own drugs.

"Portsmouth, August 1, 1801. Dear Sir. Some time since I wrote you by Captain Evans[1] of and from this Port, but I now find that he sailed for Hamburg, and will not be in London soon. Therefore I repeat my wish, which is to import a few medicines for my own use. I will therefore thank you to mention your terms, and to send a general catalogue by the bearer, C. Bayley. If agreeable, I will by the Spring Ship send you a Bill of Exchange for your medicines. I remain Your Ob'd't Serv't, LYMAN SPALDING."

Whilst awaiting a reply to this letter, a welcome message arrived from Dr. Noah Spalding, begun at Royalton, Vermont, and finished at Hanover, August 22d, 1801.

"Sir." The whispers of friendship now move my pen to inform you of my present prospects. Since I saw you I first spent about two months at Cornish in Pedagoging, after which I made a tour to Newbury, Vermont, where finding a young man had taken the stand, had been well recommended, etc., I did not think proper to attempt dividing the business with him. Accordingly, having heard that Royalton was soon to be deprived of its first physician, Dr. Allen, I made my way to see for myself, but on my arrival I found another

[1] Captain Estwick Evans who went to Hamburg was a sea captain of Portsmouth and Captain Cazneau Bayley was also a sea farer and Grand Marshal of the Lodge of Masons by whom he was buried with high Masonic ceremonies, January 27th, 1808, at the age of 41.

Doctor on the ground, but being tired of relinquishing the field without a contest I took residence in the same street, and in about two weeks he left the town. Dr. Allen has not yet left the place, but I expect he will do it in about four weeks. My business has been as good as I could expect, considering the general health. Prompt pay is out of fashion with us, but you may expect to receive a share in the first fruits of my labor.[1] Nothing worthy of your reading has occurred in my practice, save that in what business I have had, I have been very successful. I have had the pleasure of hearing of your welfare, repeatedly, but have received no line since your present of Mr. Alden's Sermon,[2] for which accept my thanks.

Dr. Smith is doing business at a great rate. We have lately had the sad news of Mr. Lemuel Hedge's[3] suicide, and of Dr. Hedge's death by consumption, but in such a way that we hope it is not true. Miss Hannah Brewster[4] was yesterday joined to the pale nation of the dead by the consumption. The exercises at Commencement are few and poorly performed, or else I am no judge of talents.

A. Torrey takes a stand at Chelsea, S. Day at Middleburg, and I believe that J. Marsh takes a residence at Londonderry.

I hope for the pleasure of a farther correspondence, and should you hear of any good vacancy open, you will oblige me by giving information as this place, Royalton, is thinly inhabited and not very prosperous. Yours, NOAH SPALDING."

Captain Bayley not only took a letter to Dr. Crawley, as we have seen, but one still more important to Dr. Edward Jenner, and here is the place to insert Captain Bayley's report.

"London, November 1, 1801. Brother Spalding: Agreeable to your request I delivered your letters, according to the directions. Doctor William Crawley is a man of great respectability in this

[1] "Share in the first fruits" may mean that Dr. Noah still owed Dr. Lyman Spalding some money.

[2] "Mr. Alden" was Rev. Timothy Alden (1781–1839) with whom Dr. Spalding lodged at one time. He was graduated at Harvard, then taught, and later on was assistant to Rev. Dr. Haven, Pastor of the South Church in Portsmouth. Mr. Alden opened in Portsmouth a Female Seminary which caused him to be so well known as an instructor, that he was called to the Presidency of Alleghany College in Pennsylvania. Every Antiquary admires Mr. Alden's delightful series of "American Epitaphs" with their valuable biographical data, concerning deceased American Worthies.

[3] The rumor of the death of Dr. Hedge was sad enough, but sadder still the reality of the suicide of Honorable Lemuel Hedge (1765–1801), a very prominent Member of Congress from New Hampshire.

[4] Miss Hannah Brewster was a charming daughter of a noted Hanover family.

place and very much of a gentleman. He is a large shipper of articles in your line, and supplies all the principal houses in Boston. His usual term is 12 months, with good letters of recommendation, or if you cannot obtain THEM, a good bill of exchange at 30 or 90 days sight, will answer the same purpose. A letter from Doctor J. Jackson of Portsmouth,[1] Doctor Morse or Bartlett of Boston will get you what articles you may want. He keeps no printed list. Make out your orders for what you may have occasion for, and he will fulfill it. If you write him, direct, William Crawley, No. 32 Spittal Square, London.

Your other letter to Doctor Edmund Jenner, I left at his house in Bond Street, the number I have forgot. He was gone into the Country. I left my address so that should he have anything for you, he would know where to find me. But I have not heard anything from him. I have mailed you a catalogue of Books, from one of the greatest Book Stores in Great Britain.

I have nothing particular to write respecting news, as you have long since heard of Peace. The definitive Treaty[2] has not yet been signed, but it is expected to be finished about the 10 or 12 inst. I think from the debate in Parlement, that it is all Debtor to Great Britain and no Cr.

My respects to all my friends, and Believe me to be Yours, On the Square, CAZNEAU BAYLEY.

N.B. I wrote you above, that I had enclosed a Catalogue of Books, but that was before I had purchased it. It is so large that I have sent it to Boston to be forwarded by a private opportunity. I have charged you 1/6 sterling for it."

Before inserting the reply from Doctor Edward Jenner (1749–1823) it may be said: that he studied for two years with John Hunter, and assisted him materially in his medical investigations. He was also employed by Sir Joseph Banks to study Natural History in the Country. He practiced extensively in Berkeley in Gloucestershire going about in blue coat and small clothes, top boots with silver spurs and a silver handled whip. He obtained membership in the Royal

[1] Dr. John Jackson (1745–1808) was closely related to Dr. Spalding, his two sisters having in succession married Captain Peter Coues, to whose daughter, Elizabeth, Dr. Spalding was now engaged. Dr. Jackson was Surgeon on the Frigate "Rahleigh" and took part in some actions during the Revolution. He next practiced in Portsmouth, but finally retired and opened an Apothecary Shop, doing a good business.

I am glad to be able to state that the number in Bond Street, London, of Dr. Jenner's house which Captain Bayley forgot, was 136.

[2] "The Treaty" was that of Amiens, ratified in 1802, but in 1803 the nations were fighting Napoleon again.

Society and a degree of medicine from St. Andrews in 1793. The anti-vaccinationists of today are so fond of sneering at Jenner, as "A so-called Doctor Jenner" that it is well worth while to emphasize at this point his studies and his actual degree in medicine.

Jenner's first public vaccination was performed in May, 1796, although he had long carried the theory in his mind. His first paper on the subject was published in 1799. His idea which has so greatly benefitted the Human Race was: "Cow Pox protects the Human Constitution from Small Pox." Jenner moved at one time to London, because from that metropolis as a center he hoped more effectually to spread abroad his views, but patients did not patronize him extensively, politics interfered with his ingenious idea, his expenses prove to be more than he could provide for, and he returned in a few years to Berkeley where he practiced successfully the rest of his life. The government granted him a pension, which was, however, small in comparison with the enormous benefits to mankind which his idea procured.

"Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, November 10th, 1801. Sir: I have been favored with your letter relative to Vaccine Inoculation, and feel myself happy in the opportunity of sending you the enclosed Virus, which I hope may reach you possessed of its full powers. You will receive two parcels, one upon Glass, the other upon Thread. When you use the former let the point of a lancet be dipped into Water, so that a sufficient quantity be taken up to moisten it, or rather to reduce it to a fluid state. The thread may be divided into a great number of portions, and each may be lodged upon a slight scratch made upon the skin. Either is sufficient to inoculate a great number of persons. If you succeed in producing one perfect pustule you need not ever be at a loss again for vaccine matter, for be assured it does not show the least tendency to degenerate on this side of the Atlantic, nor will it on your side, if you attend to the rules laid down in the enclosed paper. That marked thus* is of great importance.

It is very gratifying to me to observe how rapidly the Cow Pox-inoculation is spreading over the world. From its ready adoption it must necessarily soon check the ravages of the Small Pox, and finally extinguish totally that horrid disease.

The little PAPER I enclose[1] will perhaps furnish you with valu-

[1] "The enclosed paper," now in my possession, is a statement on a single folio sheet regarding the art of vaccination. The section marked (*) says that "Arm to arm matter should always be taken between the 6th and 9th day."

able intelligence. Tho' it does not come from me, it had my sanction, with a few trifling exceptions. A publication is about to come forth which will convey, I am told, an immense Mass of Information on the subject, and which I hope will be largely imported into America. It comes from the pen of a Mr. Ring,[1] a Surgeon of eminence in London.

Accept my thanks for your very ingenious Chemical Work, and permit me to request that you will favor me with the result of your practice with the Virus you will now receive.

Wishing you every success, I remain, Your Very Faithful Humble Serv't, EDWARD JENNER."

What gratification this letter must have given to the young Physician in Portsmouth, and how proudly we can imagine its being handed about as: "A letter from Dr. Jenner himself, about vaccination, and some genuine virus too."

In spite of the rumor that Dr. Hedge was dead, the letter next arriving after that from Dr. Jenner brings news from him. What a picture of the times: an impecunious physician working on the roads; yet it did him good, prolonging his life until 1808.

"Chester, Vermont, November 11, 1801. My good old Allie. I will appear to you once more, not as one from the grave as it seems you had placed me, but as large as life with some vigour, and will tell you some of the things of this life as practiced by me since I wrote you. Know then that for hire I undertook labour which brought on me a tedious cough and an expectoration of blood from my lungs which continued to an alarming degree, but by fervent prayer and profound medical skill, *Mors* was kept at a distance and I am now in my usual health and spirits, except somewhat worn down in accomplishing a job of work on the Turnpike, which runs through this town that I had taken, and which I believe, when completed will enable me to leave this place with some stuff in my trousers. For one that has already gone through with the rough work, and is ready to encourage the more polished workman, my constitution will not allow me to serve a long apprenticeship in this place, for I

[1] "Honest John" Ring (1752–1821), at the time of Jenner's Discovery a noted surgeon in London, came forward as his ardent champion and travelled all over Great Britain to investigate every case in which vaccination had been reported as injuring the person vaccinated. Feeling rose so high at that time, that Ring always went heavily armed for fear of assault. He also wrote widely on medical topics, composed poetry of no mean value, and as a surgeon was second to none of that era in London.

prefer digging to begging and one of them must give me a subsistence, if I tarry here, for professional business. There is no money nor inclination in the people of this place to satisfy a Physician for his services, and as old gospel times are now out of fashion, and physicians and priests expect a little "rino"[1] to help on the glorious work, I wish never to live in a country where this expectation cannot be gratified. Tell me how it is in your country and whether you know of any vacancies, for I am determined to leave this place so soon as I shall have accumulated property sufficient to support me a year or two in a place more to my liking.

You will accuse me of being fickle and unsteady, but this accusation will not justly apply to me. FOR, who would live in a place where they were obliged to labour for their daily bread! Not I nor you, unless you like work better than I do, which I know is not the case. My business is barely sufficient to support me, if I could get my pay, but as I cannot, it is really worse than none, and as to pleasure that is None. . . . In my practice such as it is, I cure all disorders with mercury and opium, but I have not time to mention particulars. . and Am with esteem, your sincere friend, ABRM. HEDGE."

Soon after this note from Dr. Hedge came one from Captain Dunham, now on recruiting service at Windsor. It suggests that there may have been a duel in the Fort where Dr. Spalding was Contract surgeon.

"Windsor, Nov. 12, 1801. Sir: Your very polite and obliging letter of the 3d inst. I have received. I feel highly gratified by your accurate detail of the Portsmouth campaign of 1801. From your own, which corresponds with other statements, I have received, I believe I have a pretty just idea of the whole business. I hope it may finally terminate without loss of reputation on either side — if not without loss of life. Military gentlemen you know, Sir, ought to hold life in contempt when brought in competition with honor. This principle we are very fond of seeing brought frequently into operation in our own corps, especially by those whose commissions outrank our own. Besides setting a good example to subordinate officers, it also sometimes makes *ROOM FOR PROMOTION*. As to passing the winter in this part of the country, it is my present expectation. I am indeed in rather an unpromising state of health. I have been troubled with spasmodic affections, and an unpleasant dizziness in my head. I have been considerable time under the care of Dr. Smith, who has been bleeding, and catharticating me, till I

[1] "Rino" which should be spelled "Rhino" means cash down, and probably originated from the Phrase "Paying through the Nose" (Rhinos).

am almost dead. Calomel and Cortex (bark) have constituted for some days, half of my rations; and water-gruel with an entire abstinence from every kind of ardent spirits has made up the complement.

I am now trying to enure myself to the exercise of GUNNING upon a moderate scale, when the weather is pleasant. I find benefit from it whilst Dr. "Bram"[1] is curing himself of BLEEDING, by hard knocks on the turnpike. He is now hearty. Mr. Adams[2] was so good as to call here on his way to Haverhill, and take a dinner and a little wine with me. Mrs. Dunham joins me in compliments to Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Sparhawk, with the Charming Eliza[3] and the rest. Your Friend and OB'D'T Servt. J. DUNHAM, Capt. 2d Regt.

Post Script. I have no doubt you will take good care of the Garrison and see to their health and comfort. I hope you will be honorably paid.[4] I am concerned for the Charming Mrs. Walsh.[5] Pray do not permit her to die till I come.

P. S. I will thank you to inquire at the Stage Tavern where we lodged the night before we left Portsmouth (not far from your lodgings) for a great coat and pair of socks of Mrs. Dunham's. They were lambskin originally. J. D."

Mr. Richard Evans of Portsmouth, brother of Captain Estwick Evans, the writer of a former letter, had removed to Philadelphia, and about this time Dr. Spalding must have asked him for books as is suggested by the reply:

"Philadelphia, Nov. 8, 1801. Dear Doctor: I shall forward by Captain Rugg,[6] who sails on Wednesday the books you wish for,

[1] "Dr. Bram" was a nickname for Dr. Abraham Hedge.

[2] "Mr. Adams" was Nathaniel Adams (1756–1829), author of the priceless "Animals of Portsmouth," a graduate of Dartmouth, one of the founders of the New Hampshire Historical Society and for many years Clerk of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, the duties of which office carried him throughout the entire state and obtained for him a wide acquaintance. Everybody knew "Nat" Adams.

[3] "The Charming Eliza" was Miss Coues.

[4] "Honorably paid" refers to Dr. Spalding's claim against the government for professional services. The Fort-Contractors referred the payment to the government, and the government referred the payment to the contractors; and the bill remains unpaid to this date.

[5] "Mrs. Walsh" was the wife of an officer and a Belle of the Fort and of the town, as was also "Mrs. Sparhawk" her name then being pronounced "Sparrock." This name is now refined in Boston, into Spar-Hawk, so that Portsmouth people open their ears, when they hear that hyphenated word, and wonder what family people are talking about.

[6] Captain Rugg who brought the parcel to Portsmouth was a Sea Captain from New Castle, New Hampshire.

and which Mr. Woodward the bookseller will cheerfully supply. I enclose Mr. Dennie's receipt for "The Port-Folio" for $4 for a year. I consider Mr. Dennie[1] a very polite man, and one who is attentive to the etiquette of fashionable manners. I have called on him several times without ceremony.

Your former letter was wanting in everything: contained things I could not read, yet more than I could understand. In the last letter you have not explained the obscure passages, agreeably to my request. You "walked with the charming "E." She burnt her finger with hot candy and you kissed it." Too Sweet! Too Sweet! Oh, Doctor, when shall I participate in your joys and tryals?

I am happy that Mr. Alden's merit is justly appreciated, but I should regret the necessity which might occasion his removal from Portsmouth. Mr. Sewall's POEMS[2] are now in the hands of the Publishers, and so soon as they shall determine the value, I will give you immediate advice. He and his family may depend on my best services. I am sorry that I could not complete your order for all of your medical books, though trying every book store in this city. You can pay my brother the sum due for the books whenever convenient to you.

With kind regards, your OB'D'T Servant, RICHARD EVANS."

The end of the year brought a letter from Dr. Waterhouse, concerning Vaccination:

"Cambridge, December 7, 1801. Dear Sir: As I expect shortly to publish a report on the progress of the vaccine inoculation during 1801, I could wish to have a more particular account of the persons

[1] Joseph Dennie (1768–1812) was a friend of Dr. Spalding, at Walpole, where he had edited a newspaper, "The Farmer's Weekly Museum" which had large circulation. Dennie was a Harvard graduate, was very neat and nice as a man, dressed very elegantly in a pea green coat, small clothes with silver buckles and was suave, courteous and very polite. He was now editing "The Port-Folio" which was as successful as "The Museum" and out of old friendship Dr. Spalding subscribed for the magazine. When Dr. and Mrs. Spalding visited Philadelphia, in 1809, Mr. Dennie introduced them to the first people of the city.

[2] Jonathan Mitchell Sewall (1748–1808), whose poems are here mentioned, was Register of Probate for Grafton County, New Hampshire, and then Clerk of Courts at Portsmouth. He was also famous as a poet, though some of the titles of his verses are curious. What can we think of "An Eulogy on Two Female Steeds" or "To the Twin Sisters who died at Exeter?" Mr. Sewall was also a Dramatist; his "No Pent up Utica Contracts our Powers, For the Whole Boundless Continent is Ours" remains memorable to this day. He converted Washington's "Farewell Address" into a poem, whilst his "War and Washington" was a "John Brown's Body" army song of the Revolution.

you have *TESTED WITH THE S-POX*, than has yet appeared. I wish to know not only the numbers, but if you have no objections the names and the circumstances of their trial of the S-Pox, how long they remained with the infected patient, the appearance of the inoculated part, etc., etc. I have a number of other cases to bring forward with it, and wish to have every fact clearly stated as may be. I have not had six spurious cases the whole season, and my cases are at this moment as perfect as those I first commenced with. Did you see the case of Dr. Fay[1] in the "Ind't Chronicle" of about a fortnight past?

Yours with Esteem, BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE."

[1] The case of Dr. Fay was the vaccination of Dr. Cyrus Fay by Dr. Babbitt of Stourbridge, Massachusetts, who utilized for that purpose the liquid obtained by washing a piece of the shirt sleeve worn during the stage of discharge from the pustule by a patient who had been vaccinated by Dr. Waterhouse. Both physicians being doubtful of the result, consulted Dr. Waterhouse who vaccinated Dr. Fay in the proper fashion, and was rewarded with a perfect result.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fever Epidemic. Vaccination Experiments in 1802.

Old fashioned "consumption" was at that time causing a large percentage of deaths, and believing that it might be prevented or at least that its frequency should be properly studied, and having also in mind an investigation of Longevity with a view to Insurance and Annuities, Dr. Spalding began in 1800 to collect and tabulate all deaths occurring in Portsmouth. His first Bill of Mortality, a large Broadside showing in bold figures the number of inhabitants, deaths, age, disease, and causes of death, was printed in 1801, and continued for eleven years during which period they were sent to prominent personages in the United States and in Europe, so that Dr. Spalding became widely known. I find, for instance, that on Washington's Birthday, in 1801, and in 1802 he sent a Bill of Mortality to Thomas Jefferson and to John Adams with a note to this effect:

"Sir: Will you please accept the humble offering of a Faithful Citizen of the Republic of Science? If you deem it worthy of the attention of the American Philosophical Society, I should feel my self honored by their acceptance of a copy. I am Sir, your Ob'd't Servt. L. Spalding."

Mr. Jefferson's answer is missing, but from The Sage of Quincy came this note. . . .

"Quincy, February 28, 1803. Sir: I have received the favor of your paper (on Meteors) and have sent it, together with your Bills of Mortality of Portsmouth for 1801 and 2 to the Recording Secretary of the Accademy to be communicated to them at their annual meeting. I am, Sir, Your Humble Servt. John Adams."

Another valuable letter due to sending a Bill of Mortality to a famous physician may here find a place. Dr. Benjamin Rush[1] the writer (1746–1813), was a personal friend of my grandfather from 1809 until his death.

[1] Of this great man this brief record may say that he descended from a Captain in Cromwell's army, was graduated at Princeton, studied medicine at home and obtained his degree at Edinburgh. He

Quincy Feb. 28. 1803

Sir

I have received your favour of the 20th and have Sent it, with your Bills of Mortality for 1801. & 1802 to the Recording Secretary of the American Accademy to be communicated to them at their next Meeting in May. I have the Honor to be Sir your most Obdient and humble Servant

John Adams

Dr Lyman Spalding
Portsmouth

"Philadelphia, February 9, 1802. Dear Sir: Accept of my thanks for the copy of a Bill of Mortality of the town of Portsmouth. It is an ingenious improvement of that Species of publication and calculated to add to the certainty of our knowledge upon several medical subjects. I wish a similar mode of ascertaining the ages and diseases of persons who die, and the months in which their deaths occur, could be instituted in all the towns and cities in America. Its advantages to our Science would be incalculable.

Several things struck me in reading your publication: the small number of deaths compared with your population; the great number of persons above fifty out of the hundred who died in your town in the course of the last year; the great proportion who died of the pulmonary consumption being 1/5 of the whole number, also their ages, most of them being above 50 years of age; the connection of palsy with a tendency to old age, eight out of the twelve who died with that disease being above fifty.

A Dr. Daignan[1] of France has published two very interesting volumes upon the subject to which you have devoted a part of your time. They are well worth your reading. I have derived many important facts from them, which I have occasionally introduced into my lectures. They were put in my hands many years ago by Mr. Jefferson.

With great respect, I am, Dear Sir, your friend and brother in the Republic of Medicine. BENJAMIN RUSH."

A copy of a Bill of Mortality having been sent to Dr. Mitchill, then a Senator from New York in Washington, he replied to this effect.

studied also on the Continent and finally established himself in Philadelphia, where he had a large practice and also lectured on Chemistry. He served as a Surgeon during the Revolution, on land and on sea, was Professor of Theory and Practice in the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, and Surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

During an epidemic of yellow fever he is said to have attended six thousand patients, and to have had a high percentage of cures. Crowned heads of Europe saw fit to reward him for his remarkable services to medicine and to humanity. He wrote much and left an unfinished MSS "On Medicine in the Bible." The name of Benjamin Rush is written indelibly in American Medical History. Portraits show him with small delicately chiselled features, clean shaven, leaning his head on his left hand and with his spectacles pushed up on his forehead, he gazes genially at the observer.

[1] Dr. Guillaume Daignan (1732–1812) was a Military Surgeon at the early age of 24 and during the French Revolution served on the Committee of Public Health. He wrote fluently on medical topics, and the work to which Dr. Rush refers is probably "Pictures of the Varieties of Human Life." He also wrote "On the Preservation of Health" and a queer book, "On the Secret Toilets of the Demi-Monde of Paris."

"Washington City, February 25, 1802. Dear Sir: I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your two late favors. The Bill of Mortality for Portsmouth is an instructive Record. That one-fifth of the inhabitants should die of the Pulmonary Consumption is a remarkable and unexpected fact. I wish we had other Registers of Deaths kept with equal correctness. Something of the same kind has been undertaken in the City of New York by order of the Common Council. I have forwarded the Bill to Dr. Miller. I have cheerfully complied with your request in respect to your application at the War Office, and have signified to the Secretary my opinion of your professional worth, and desserts. I hope it may be serviceable, tho' I dare not flatter myself of having any influence in these matters.

I remain with much sensibility and esteem. Yours Cordially, SAMUEL L. MITCHILL."

Dr. Waterhouse having been similarly favored sent a very characteristic criticism of the Bill of Mortality.

"Cambridge, March 18, 1802. Dear Sir: Your letter of the 11th inst. came duly to hand and I have endeavored to comply with your request, so far as to send you some matter on the point of a quill. As to the thread, it is full a month old, but was from a very perfect case and has been kept in a proper degree of temperature ever since. I am now so in the habit of taking the vaccine fluid from arm to arm, that I am not so constant in preserving it on the thread or otherwise. Considerable attention and patience are required in the first use of an old thread. It ought always to be moistened with the vapor of hot water.

You mention my not having answered your last letter. I have received no letter from you since you wrote to me in answer to one of mine. I received a printed bill of mortality, 5 or 6 weeks ago, but no written line whatever with it and I have had no letter from you for 4, 5 or perhaps 6 months past.

I have just received "Observations on the Cow Pox" from Dr. Lettsom.[1] I shall probably publish a second pamphlet in a

[1] John Coakley Lettersom (1754–1815) was born in the West Indies, but educated in England. He practiced first in the Colonies, made a fortune by speculations in sugar, and then settled in London where he obtained most of the clientage of the late Dr. Fothergill. His genial ways and perseverance soon won for him a very large practice. He was however always financially embarrassed. He married a fortune, and lost it, made another and dissipated it, and in his old age inherited still another which he was unable to squander before he died. He founded the London Medical Society, left money for the Fothergill Gold Medal, and the Lettsomian Lectures, wrote a great many medical works, and carried on an extensive correspondence writing many of his

month or so, being practical observations, etc. In the meantime I sent a few, to the Medical "Repository" for their next number.

I am glad to find that you attend to the occurrences of Mortality. Excuse me for making a few remarks on the one you were so obliging to send to me. 1. Did APHTHAE kill the infant, or was it a symptom of another disorder, or in other words: was it sympathetic or IDIOPATHIC?

2dly. We very rarely see consumption in patients above 50 years of age, more rarely above 60 and very rare indeed at 70. There is a chronic cough and emaciation, and great expectoration in old people, but it is not the true Phthisis Pulmonalis.

3dly. Is not DEBAUCHERY rather a *VAGUE* term for a general Head? Does it mean Drunkeness exclusively?

4thly. I never yet saw a very young child with Epilepsy. There is a wide space indeed, between the convulsions of infants, and that truly wonderful disease, EPILEPSY.

5thly. Mortification: Was it in the bowels or the feet? As they are widely different in their cause. See Pott on the LATTER.[1]

6thly. Death from SCROFULA is very uncommon. It predisposes to fatal diseases.

7thly. PAREGORIC: Does that mean that the Child was poisoned by that composition? If so, had it not better been by OPIUM as Paregoric means a Mitigator.

You will excuse these hasty observations that occurred on the perusal. They have not originated from a disposition to criticise but from a desire to have them free from every exception. Yours Steadily, B. WATERHOUSE."

Dr. Waterhouse was immediately thanked for his frank criticism and presented with some Salt Fish for which Portsmouth was famous. Some time later a reply to this effect followed.

letters in his carriage en route to patients. He is said to have composed this distich which may be passed along for another generation:

"When people's ill, they comes to I,
I physics, bleeds and sweats em;
Sometimes they live, sometimes they die;
What's that to I? I let's em."

[1] "Pott on the latter" was Percival Pott (1714–1786) whom we recall on account of his own accident, for which, when amputation of his foot was proposed for a fracture at the ankle, he invented a splint and saved the foot. He was Surgeon for years at St. Bartholomew's, and did great service in ridding that Hospital of the barbarities of the nurses towards the patients. His treatise "On Diseases of the Spine" ("Pott's Disease") remains a monument to his fame.

"Cambridge, June 8, 1802. Dear Sir: Some time ago I received a box containing some good salt fish, but having no line nor any direction whatsoever with it, I was at loss to know whence, or from whom it came, until Mr. Bartlett informed me not long since, that it was sent to his care from you. I am disposed "to return thanks and ask a continuance of like mercies" when I know to whom I must address them. I suspect some letter was sent by a private hand, which never reached me.

Two years ago I inoculated Mrs. Smith, originally of Portsmouth, who lately removed from Boston to your town again, but her case was spurious. I called to re-inoculate her the very day after she left Boston. I write this therefore, to ask you to call upon her, and to ask her if she is willing that you should inoculate her, and if she prefers it, I will send her some matter for that purpose. Although her symptoms were very violent and her arm very sore, her disorder was of the spurious kind. If she therefore, wishes it, I would thank you to inoculate her for me.

The credit of the vaccine inoculation is advancing and maintaining its credit among us, in spite of vile tricks to impede it.

I am with Esteem, yours, etc., BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE."

The people of Portsmouth were terrified at this time by an epidemic of malignant fever simulating Yellow Fever. Patients died in a day and a panic seemed imminent.

At this juncture Dr. Spalding printed "An Appeal to the Board of Health" asserting that they were neglecting their duty in not enforcing household sanitation. The Selectmen called a Town Meeting; Dr. Spalding was put on the Board, vigorous sanitation followed, daily bulletins stating number of deaths and numbers affected were issued by him, and in the course of two months the worst was over and healthy conditions prevailed.

In spite of much time given to this epidemic, Dr. Spalding completed a second public proof of vaccination as a preventive against Small Pox, for on the 22d of July he issued a Bulletin stating that three weeks before, his Class of five vaccinated persons had boarded in the Small Pox Hospital with two patients afflicted with that disease, were all inoculated with the small pox virus, and after remaining ten days in contact with the patients came off safely and had up to that date showed no signs of contagion. "This second public experiment," he says, "gives public proof and sufficient testimony within our own borders, that the Kine Pox is a sure and efficient preventive of Small Pox."

A copy of this Bulletin was sent to Dr. Waterhouse, who in "The Palladium" of May 31, 1802, had complained that no public tests of the efficacy of vaccination had yet been made in America, forgetting the tests communicated to him the year before by Dr. Spalding. Acknowledging the communication, Dr. Waterhouse wrote to this effect, utilizing for this letter the reverse of a Broadside from Dr. Jenner with full directions for Vaccine Inoculation.

"Cambridge, July, 1802. Dear Sir: Accept my thanks for the printed account of your second experiment respecting the prophylactic power of the Kine Pock.[1]

I thought it would conduce to good, to give it to the public through "The Centinel." I wrote a few lines on the same paper, to the printer, personally, which he also printed.

I mean to publish in "The Centinel" this week a piece on the absurd notion, now industriously disseminated, that the Kine Pock will only secure a person for a short time.

Perhaps it would answer a good purpose amongst you, to have it copied into one of your Portsmouth papers, for, this doctrine is spread far and wide, and discourages inoculation.

The Mrs. Smith I wrote to you about inoculating is the mother of William P. Smith, and as he has lately been unfortunate, I could wish not to be lacking in attention to her, or him, who employed me. Will you please to tell her that I called at her house the day after she left Boston, and finding she was gone had desired you to call on her in my behalf. If I can reciprocate this service, please to command, Your Humble Servant, BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE."

One of the famous men of that era to whom the vaccination tests were sent was Charles Caldwell (1772–1853), who obtained his degree of medicine in Philadelphia, in 1785, and acted as Surgeon in "The Whiskey Rebellion," a riotous popular protest in Western Pennsylvania against taxation of domestic spirits. Caldwell was Professor of Natural History in Philadelphia, but quarrelled with his colleagues, and became a Professor in Transylvania University in Kentucky. He next founded the Louisville Medical School, quarrelled again, with his colleagues, and in his old age had the Chair of Theory and Practice pulled out from under him when he refused to resign. He wrote hundreds of medical works in a flowery style and an "Autobiography" which would be worth a good deal more than it is if it had

[1] In the Singular, because it has but one pock; the X being plural.

only been indexed. His chief works were "A Treatise of Practice" and a "Life of General Greene." Insufferably egotistical, he said that he had never entered for a literary prize without winning it. He detested Dr. Rush, and accused him of plagiarism, yet dedicated to him a Translation of Sanac "On Fever."

Personally, Dr. Caldwell was a man to turn around to look at. Tall and commanding in figure, dignified in countenance and with a flowing beard he recalled the patriarchs of old. Fearless and outspoken he remained, to the last, an example of mental activity in prolonging life. Venomous of tongue, when once interrupted by shouting students, he shrieked at the top of his voice: "Three VERMIN, only, HISS! Enraged Cats, Vipers, Geese! Which of these three are YE!!"

Soon after receiving the news from Portsmouth, Dr. Caldwell sent the following reply, in his usual style, belittling others, and lauding himself.

"Philadelphia, July 22, 1802. Dear Sir: Accept under the same cover an acknowledgement of your favor of the 16th inclosing an account of your experiments on the efficacy of the vaccine disease in preventing Small Pox, and also of that received some months ago, covering a Bill of Mortality for the Town of Portsmouth. Such communications will always experience from me a welcome reception, as, besides the information contained in them, they bespeak a remembrance and attention which must always be pleasing. Independently of the evidence received both from Europe and different parts of the United States, in favour of Kine Pox, the Personal experience of many of the physicians of Philadelphia is sufficient to convince them of the power of this disease (if it deserve so harsh a name) to eradicate from the System a Susceptibility of Small Pox. The experiments made on this subject by five or six of the younger practitioners of this place (myself among the number) amount to, at least, one hundred; in each of which the result has been perfectly favorable to the Jennerian discovery. Our only reason for not giving them to the public, has been (I speak with confidence relative to my own motives) their similarity to experiments previously made and published elsewhere. Having nothing new in them, and the point to which they related being in mind established beyond question, they did not appear to me worthy of being conducted through the press.

One case occurred here in the course of last Spring, of death, by casual Small Pox after vaccination, which for a time affected the public mind with uneasiness and distrust. But, these sensations

were readily removed, as it appeared on examination, that the accident had happened in the hands of an unskilful practitioner, and that the vaccine affection had been evidently spurious.

I presume that before this time you have been reached by the note of alarm produced by our intermeddling newsmongers, announcing the re-invasion of our City by pestilence. Never have I known an effect so enormously disproportioned to its cause as in the present instance. Our Citizens have been driven to secure for themselves retreats in the Country, on the most exorbitant terms (for with our Benevolent Neighbors, pestilence is an object of profitable speculation) country merchants will be prevented from resorting to our City for their autumnal supplies, and our vessels, being denied Bills of Health, will be subjected to quarantine in foreign parts — For What? For a mere phantom!!; the very coinage of the fears of timid minds or the self conceit of others, who overrate their powers of foretelling the future from present appearances. What ever may be the issue of things in the approaching Autumn, we have as yet, had no grounds for Serious and extensive alarm.

The true outline of the Matter is as follows: On the 4th of the present month, a malignant fever made its appearance in a remote corner of our city, or rather in what we denominate the Northern Liberties, being without the limits to which the police of our corporation extends. Since that period, about thirty-seven persons have been attacked by the disease, of whom about 9 or perhaps 10 have died. The others are well or on the recovery. The disease has been exclusively confined to one neighborhood, no instance of contagion or even of the suspicion of it, with medical men has occurred, nor has any new case appeared since the 16th, making the space of a week all but one day. Several cases of this fever were marked by all the malignant symptoms of our epidemic in former years. Notwithstanding this, from a combination of many circumstances, which I have not room to detail, most of our physicians who paid due attention to the subject felt a conviction that it would not become general at this period of the Season. A similar conviction they endeavored in private conversation to impress on the minds of their fellow citizens, but the clamors of their fears were too loud to suffer them to listen to the voice of reason. Accept an assurance of my respectful consideration. CH. CALDWELL."

Two letters from Dr. Waterhouse bring the correspondence for the year to a close and are of the greatest historical value.

"Cambridge, October 13, 1802. Dear Sir. Will you as speedily as you can put me up sealed in a quill, some of your freshest Small Pox matter and transmit it in a letter by the next mail? We want it to test the Kine Pox Patients who were inoculated before the

board of health (at Noddle's Island) and Dr. Aspinwall[1] has not, he says, a particle in his hospital. . . . . You have had, I hear, a recent case at Portsmouth. Can you send me some of it? Your attention to this business will oblige, Your Friend and Humble Servant, B. WATERHOUSE."

The second message says:

"Cambridge, November 4, 1802. Dear Sir: Agreeably to your request, I here enclose a small portion of vaccine matter. I cannot send more at this time, having just sent some to Philadelphia, where it is extinct. I have just received a similar request from New York where it is also extinct! And I have reason to think that there is none in Boston, my own cases excepted!! Neither, it seems, is there any in Portsmouth. . . . How can practitioners be so inattentive? I am obliged to hire children, and others, to be inoculated in Cambridge in order to keep up a continuity of matter. I have just received some quills from Mr. Ring. Dr. Jenner has just sent me some in a silver box, inlaid with gold of exquisite workmanship, with a complimentary inscription by Mr. Ring.[2] You will find on reading Coxe, that he has published in haste. He sent me the work in sheets. I sent him the colored engravings of the pustule in all its stages, contrasted with small pox. He has, you see, copied it, but it falls vastly short of the original. Dr. Coxe[3]

[1] William Aspinwall (1733–1823) served as a surgeon in the Revolutionary army, and then established a Small Pox Hospital at Brookline. He gained great reputation, by inoculating, with the Small Pox virus, more people than all the other neighboring physicians combined. Perceiving, however, that vaccination would prove the safer and surer preventive he vigorously advocated the new procedure. In his old age, Dr. Nathan Smith, much to his personal regret, operated unsuccessfully for cataract upon Dr. Aspinwall.

[2] The silver gilt box was brought from Dr. Jenner by Dr. Matthias Spalding (1769–1865) who was a graduate from Harvard and after studying in Europe, settled in Amherst, New Hampshire. He was for many years President of the State Medical Society. Fertile in resources and in obstetrical emergencies, and genial as a man, he was an unusually successful practitioner.

[3] John Redman Coxe (1773–1864) studied abroad and was practising in Philadelphia as early as 1795. He was a Surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital and occupied the Chairs of Chemistry and Materia Medica in the Medical School. Discords and jealously arose, and it became a burning question: Is there need of separate Chairs for these two topics, and is Dr. Coxe capable of filling either? He was finally compelled to resign from both, but he lived long enough afterward to prove the absurdity of the charges of incapacity brought against him. He knew enough, but was too pedantic to be interesting. His "Philadelphia Medical Museum" was an excellent paper of its kind, and he was also for a time in the Surgical Instrument Business.

has just written to me for a fresh supply of matter. Yours, etc., B. WATERHOUSE.

P. S. If you could procure me another quintal of fish such as you sent me last autumn, you and I will settle the amount of it when we next meet, or before, by sending the Bill of it. We can get the ordinary fish in Boston, but the best kind of large fish is not easy to be found.

Our experiment stagnates for want of pox matter."

These two notes illustrate the Noddle's Island test of vaccination as a preventive of Small Pox, which was begun in August, 1802, by vaccinating several persons, with the idea of inoculating them when occasion served, with Small Pox virus. When, therefore, Dr. Waterhouse asks for Small Pox virus, and says, "Our experiment Stagnates," he means that the Noddle's Island test had lasted since August, and was not then completed.

CHAPTER IX.

Medical Life at Portsmouth, 1803–1806.

In order to throw light on Dr. Spalding's career at this time I must rely mostly on scrap books and newspapers, which show that he was making flying visits to Boston, and obtaining a fair practice. I find on a bit of paper, and written in French: "I spent this year $300 more than I made." His marriage with Miss Coues took place in October, 1802, and they went on their honeymoon to Cornish and Hanover.

He resumed vaccination in the Spring of 1803, constructed a Galvanic battery and used it medically, compounded oxygen gas and utilized it for asthma and built his own soda fountain, manufacturing mineral water for his patients and the public. The battery and the fountain seem to have been the first made in New Hampshire. He wrote medical papers, and read them before the medical society or printed them in the newspapers of the day. One of these on quacks showed the people the misery inflicted by these travelling wretches, especially upon the cancerous. He was much interested in Ergot, experimented with it largely, at first denied its efficacy and finally acknowledged his mistake. Another paper on "Interlocked Twins" attracted attention. He dissected daily during cold weather, became a skilled anatomist and surgeon, and obtained a considerable practice in this branch of medicine. He operated for cataract, hernia, necrosis, did many amputations, and a good deal of minor surgery.

The following instance of his surgical conservatism is worth inserting: Without informing Dr. Spalding that amputation of the leg had been advised by a capable surgeon in a case of necrosis of the tibia, he was called in to look at the patient and thereupon he said that the leg could be saved. He was told then that arrangements had been made to amputate it that afternoon. He retired from the case, and being sent for refused to attend except in consultation.

This being arranged, he showed what he proposed to do,

did it, and in a few weeks that patient who had been bedridden for years was walking without a cane or a crutch.

Amongst the accidents which he mentions in his papers were one of suffocation in a theatre during a panic following an alarm of fire. Another one was of ptosis (falling of the upper eyelid) after a stroke of lightning affecting a woman sitting at an open window during a thunder shower, but which was relieved after using the electric battery which Dr. Spalding had built.

He once reported a case resembling spontaneous combustion; an old lady was left at home one Sunday morning, all the rest of the family having gone to church. Upon their return nothing was discovered of the woman but a heap of ashes. Dr. Spalding was called, and looked at the ashes and noticed the vile smell of burning flesh. Nothing else in the house was in any way injured. As the family claimed that when they left home there was no fire in the house, we can but speculate upon this phenomenon. Was it an accident from a tinder spark or was it spontaneous combustion?

The public esteem in which Dr. Spalding was now held is proved by his being named as an Executor of the Will of the Widow "Martha Hilton" Wentworth. She had first married Governor Benning Wentworth, as Longfellow relates, and later on Colonel Michael Wentworth, not a relation of the Governor, but a hero, by his own right of having fought at Culloden and Fontenoy. He came to Portsmouth about 1760, practiced law, married the Governor's widow and died September 25th, 1795. The inventory of his estate mentions a handsome Chariot and six horses, a portrait of King George III, the personal gift of his Majesty, and much elegant furniture. His widow to whose estate as I have said, Dr. Spalding was named as Executor, although he declined the Trust, left him four handsome silver spoons made, as the Hall Mark shows, by John Gorham of Gutter Lane, London, in 1759.

The first letter belonging to 1803 reads as follows:

"Cambridge, April 24th, 1803. Dear Sir: Agreeably to your request I here enclose some fresh vaccine virus matter which was taken from a child on the 8th day from vaccination and is not more than 20 hours old. My late publication has at last set forth the History of the practice in America in its true point of light and cor-

rected several ill grounded notions. I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant, BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE."

About the same time also Dr. Spalding received official notice of his election to the State Medical Society.

"Kingston, N. H. June 8, 1803. Sir: I am directed to notify you, that at the annual meeting of the New Hampshire Medical Society held at Exeter on the 25th of May, last, you were unanimously elected a Fellow of said Society, and that the next annual meeting will be held at the house of Ezra Hutchings[1] in Exeter on the last Wednesday of May, 1804, at which time and place your attendance is requested. I am your Obedient Servant, Levi Bartlett, Secretary."

Dr. Thomas Manning (1775–1854), the writer of the next letter to appear, belonged to the Massachusetts Medical Society, and to a family, many of whom were physicians. He seems to have bought, sold, made over, repaired, leased, mortgaged and rented more Mansions, than any physician whose career I have ever investigated. He was at this time living in what had been the Parsonage of the First Church. He was practicing in Ipswich as early as 1799, and as late as 1830, and then retired to enjoy a green old age.

"Ipswich, September 6, 1803. Dear Sir: I am favored with the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your last year's Bill of Mortality of Portsmouth. I assure you that your communication will always meet with a warm reception when put into my hands. As I am writing permit me to congratulate you on the material March, which you have gained on me in the birth of your child. But, why are you so laconic in your communications, and why will you not accompany them with some additional remarks on Chemistry, in the future? Call now to recollection your past omissions and so preclude farther accusations from me.

Although I have not yet the pleasure of an acquaintance with Mrs. Spalding, I presume to request you to make my respects to her, and tell her that I wish that she may find continual joy in the life of your mutual darling.[2] Your very obedient servant. THO'S MANNING."

After Dr. Spalding had completed his galvanic battery, he communicated the fact to Dr. Smith, who in his turn made

[1] Ezra Hutchings was not a physician, as stated in the "Records" of the New Hampshire Medical Society, but simply the Landlord of the Tavern where the society meetings were held.

[2] "Your mutual darling" was Elizabeth Parkhurst Spalding, born August 11, 1803.

Sir

I wish you to inform me by a Letter where & how you obtained the Wire of which you make your Galvanic Pile. I have been disappointed in several attempts to obtain it. I wish also that you would write me a short account of that operation & the effects on the body & you will oblige your sincere friend & servant — Nathan Smith

Hanover Nov.r 7th, 1808

To Lyman Spalding

M.D. Fayetteville at Hanover during this month

LETTER FROM DR. NATHAN SMITH ABOUT THE GALVANIC BATTERY: DR. SMITH COULD NEVER SPELL GRANDFATHER'S NAME CORRECTLY

various experiments, but with poor success. In the emergency he applies to his former pupil for information by letter.

Hanover, November 7, 1803. Sir: I wish you to inform me by a letter, where, and how you obtain the Zinc of which you make your Galvanic Pile. I have been disappointed at several attempts to obtain it. I wish also that you would give me a short account of its operation, and its effects on the body and you will oblige, Your Friend and Servant, NATHAN SMITH.

N. B. I shall be at Hanover during this month."

The only letter at hand for 1804 is from John Eliot (1754–1813), a founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society and a graduate of Harvard and Edinburgh. He had married into the Portsmouth family of the Treadwells, and was well acquainted in that way with Dr. Spalding. Eliot's "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Men in New England" was highly thought of. Mr. Eliot had sent some "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society" to the Portsmouth Library, and Dr. Spalding as Librarian had returned thanks and enclosed a Bill of Mortality and a copy of his "Chemical Nomenclature." Here is Mr. Eliot's reply:

"Boston, March 9th, 1804. Dear Sir: I received your polite letter of acknowledgment of the Books, and am very glad to learn that your Portsmouth Library is in a flourishing condition, and that you are the Librarian. I feel interested in everything that concerns it. The founders of it were my particular friends, and did me the honor of desiring me to write a list of books, which were sent for among the first their subscription afforded. The Historical Collections, which I send you, are a good addition. I would not have parted with them to an Individual, but hope they will be read by many in Portsmouth and that they will find entertainment in dry antiquities, as they appertain to their own country.

Your present to our Historical Society, I received and thank you in their name. Such Bills of Mortality in every town would be useful, but professional men are generally lazy. It is the fault of some of our most eminent physicians in Boston.

Your new Nomenclature will be useful. It shows how much you have attended to that Science, which will be among the fashionable studies here in a few years as it is now in Europe. I studied Chemistry with Priestly's "Nomenclature"[1] and cannot break off my

[1] Priestly's "Nomenclature" was one of a large number of contributions to science by the Rev. Joseph Priestly (1733–1804) who had lately died. This great ecclesiastic and greater chemist was born in

prejudices suddenly. I call them prejudices, from the habits of study when I was better able to attend to such things than I am now. I feel my attachment increase, since that great and good man has died in the same opinion. Great, he was, in everything. . tho' wrongheaded in some, and perhaps it may be in his deductions from his experiments concerning the phlogistic principle. Allowing this, yet his Nomenclature seems to me very expressive. Or, being more used to it, I may, as said before, be more prejudiced.

Were I on the Committee of Publication this year, I should put your Bills of Mortality in the 9th Vol. of our Collections. It would not be foreign to such a kind of publication, but part of the History of the place. The use that will be made by comparing them with those of other towns in the state is one thing. I wish to put them into the Collection, as Illustrations of the state of a town whose history we want more complete.

With due esteem and respect, Your Most Obedient Servant, J. Eliot."

The first letter for the year 1805 is from Dr. Mitchill in reply to one from Portsmouth.

"Washington, February 7, 1805. Dear Sir. Your Bill of Mortality for 1804 has reached me, and I thank you for it. What a dreadful calamity the Pulmonary Consumption is! I believe, so far as our Bills extend in New York, that one fifth of our deaths are by the same fatal malady. I hope you will continue your observations. We shall preserve it, and extend the circulation of it in the "Repository." I find that Dr. Miller has got out the 31st No., which is the 3d part of Vol. 8. I received it a few days ago from the booksellers, by mail. It is full of original and valuable matter. I have observed that your Bill of Mortality for the last year has been reprinted in London. With Great Regard and Esteem, Samuel L. Mitchill."

A note from Dr. Caldwell shows us that Dr. Spalding had been obtaining subscribers for his translation of Desault's "Surgery" and from it we find him obtaining a Set, as a gift.

England and died in Pennsylvania, having been driven from home by mobs who thought that his views on Reform were wrong. As a man, Priestly was rapid in his gait, and in his repartee. His sermons were friendly talks with his people. He wrote on Theology, Philology, History, Politics and Sociology. As a Chemist he discovered Oxygen Gas, and Soda Water preparations, and in Chemical Science he stood upon the Heights. Although offered a Chair in Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania on reaching America, he preferred to live in the country, where he worked to the last, dictating a Treatise, a few minutes only, before his death.

"Philadelphia, June 13, 1805. Dear Sir. Accept my sincere thanks for your attention to the interest and circulation of my Translation of Desault's "Surgery."[1] The number of copies of that work directed in your polite letter have been forwarded to you at my request, together with one attached for yourself, by W. P. Farrand and Co. Booksellers in Philadelphia to whose order you will have the goodness to pay the subscription money. I am, with High Regard, Your friend and obedient Servant, CH. CALDWELL."

I have not been able to discover at this place how a patient of Dr. Spalding could be at Hanover, unless he had operated upon her for cataract whilst taking a vacation there and had left her in charge of Dr. Smith, who now writes concerning her.

"Hanover, June 25, 1805. Dear Sir: Mrs. Peirce, your patient has been attended to. But her case is of that kind which forbids my giving her any encouragement of receiving her sight. She seems to be afflicted with a degree of inflammation and soreness of the eyelids, which might possibly be mended. For that purpose I would wash them once or twice a day in a solution of corrosive sublimate, in the proportion of two grains to a pint of water. The Thebain tincture of Sydenham[2] may also be tried to constringe and

[1] Pierre Joseph Desault (1744–1785) was set to study theology in the country but escaped to the more attractive Medical Schools of Paris. He lectured later in that city with much success despite the jealousy of the regular faculties. He had charge of the Dauphin (Louis XVII) during the Revolution, is said to have denounced an intended substitution, and to have been poisoned to get him out of the way. It may be added, that Chopart (collaborator with Desault in medical works and originator of "Chopart's amputation" of the foot) was called into consultation with Desault in this case and agreed with him that substitution of children had been performed. Chopart also died of a rapid fever, and he, too, is said to have been poisoned.

[2] Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689), though living long before the date of this letter, is worth annotating as a Hero in Medicine. He fought with Cromwell, obtained the Sinecure of Comptroller of the Pipe, and at last discovering that he knew nothing about medicine studied in France, and settled in London where he obtained an excellent practice chiefly owing to the fame obtained by printing an account of his own case of Gout. Most of his works appeared in Latin, but whether so written or translated from English is still disputed. He was a bitter talker and many stories are told concerning him. He once sent a grumbling patient all the way on horse back to consult a "Dr. Robinson" in Dundee. When the man arrived there and found no such physician, he set off furious to London. Arriving there he had high words with Sydenham who appeased him in this way. "I sent you to Dundee with something to think of on your way: that a new doctor

strengthen the vessels of the eyes. As Internal Remedie I would give her iron, and some of the stimulating gums. The following pills I have found useful; ℞ Gum Guaiacum, Saponis Castillensis, Sal Martis, āā. Take two at night and in the morning. I would also recommend the use of diuretics, such as tincture of cantharides, and terebinthinate medicines. I cured a patient where there was a considerable collection of matter about the knee, by the help of issues applied to the part; iron and strong diuretics, internally. I write in great haste, being called this moment to attend a patient afflicted with gangrene. With respect and affection, I remain your sincere friend and very humble servant. NATHAN SMITH."

The end of the year brought another delightful letter from Dr. Jenner.

"Berkeley, Gloucestershire. November 12, 1805. Dear Sir: Your letter, though rather laconic, of the 27th day of May last affords me great satisfaction. I beg that you will accept my thanks for your kind attention, in sending me your Bill of Mortality of Portsmouth for the previous years. You may also easily conceive what gratification it is to me to hear that the powers of vaccination have so clearly manifested themselves in your experiments, as to have eradicated that Horrid Pest, Small Pox, from any particular district. Information similar to that which you convey has reached me from various parts of the world. Vienna exhibits a curious instance. The bill of Mortality has there shown that the average number of deaths by small pox had exceeded eight hundred for a number of years past, but that in the year 1804, five years only, after the introduction of Cow Pox by my disciple, Dr. De Carro,[1] TWO INDIVIDUALS only fell victim to that disease.

I now request all vaccine inoculators to be particularly cautious in the examination of the progress of the pustule in those who are affected with an Herpetic Skin, under whatsoever form this affection

would cure you. Knowing that there was no such man there, I knew, again, that on your way home you would have but one thing to think of, and that was to be mad at me. Now you are cured; and what more can you do than pay a fee to me, and to the other doctor who cured you." Sydenham died from a calculus, but his Tincture is still with us.

[1] Jean De Carro was born in Geneva, in 1770, and graduated at Edinburgh. He was practicing in Vienna in 1799 at 983 Rauherstein, when Jenner brought forward vaccination, and was the first to extend its use by dipping ivory points into the lymph when ready. He also sent to Moscow, Persia and India lymph imbedded between plates of glass, which were then covered with layers of wax until the parcel resembled an ordinary ball of wax. In this way the lymph arrived safely and proved effective. De Carro's only regret in life was that he never met Dr. Jenner.

may appear. My reason for enjoining this precaution is this: I clearly perceive it to be by far the more common than any other cause, of the Spurious or Imperfect vaccine pustule; that pustule which does not guard the patient from future infection. I have discovered too, that this has been the cause of insecurity obtained from variolous inoculation. We have abundant instances of persons taking the Small Pox after a supposed security due to small pox inoculation. Your country doubtless affords similar examples. your obedient servant, EDWARD JENNER.

P. S. If you have any case of small pox after small pox inoculation, pray communicate them, or any observations on Herpes, which I presume is as common in the New, as in the Old World."

This is now the place to introduce another life long friend of Dr. Spalding, Philander Chase (1775–1852), born in Cornish, educated at Dartmouth and first serving as a Missionary Preacher of the Episcopal Church in New York. He then became Rector of churches in New Orleans and Hartford, Connecticut. He was the first Bishop of Ohio, President of Kenyon College, of the Theological Seminary of Ohio, of Jubilee College and last of all Bishop of Illinois. He was a Militant Churchman, and an intense hater of Negro Slavery.

From his letter arriving in the Spring of 1806 we learn of the state of affairs in Louisiana soon after its purchase by the United States.

"New Orleans, March 8, 1806. My dear friend: I believe, if either of us were asked why we have not kept up a correspondence with each other, no satisfactory reply could be given. For my own part, I have been ashamed of neglecting, so long, an early friend, and one whom I so sincerely esteem. The tidings of your fame in the exercise of your professional functions have frequently reached my ear, and made glad my heart; and lately as it is, I am now happy to let you know something of myself. . . . Till last October I resided at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., engaged in the arduous cares of a Parish Minister, and Principal of Dutchess Academy. The Bishop of New York, having received a letter from the Protestants in New Orleans, requesting a Clergyman might be recommended to them, was pleased to pitch upon me, for that purpose. I obeyed, and leaving my family in Poughkeepsie, came on, and found things to answer for the most part, my expectations. I think I shall for a while take up my residence in this city. For this purpose I shall if it please God go on for my family in May; in doing which I shall take the opportunity of visiting my friends in general. On my way

to Portland, Maine, to see my Brother Salmon[1] I intend to have the pleasure of once more joining hands with you, and happy shall I be, in finding your friendship as unimpaired as mine. As to News, you know more than I do, being so far from the Seat of Gov't; The Spaniards threaten hard, but have done nothing material as yet, by land. The Gov't of the State will probably declare war ag't the U. S., for interdicting our commerce with them. The difference with Great Britain will end, we are afraid, in something almost too unpleasant to think on. In trying "to see who will do the other the most harm," both must be but too successful. God avert this great Calamity!!

My health never was better. The Climate of this Country has, as yet, proved pleasing beyond description. We have had but 6 or 8 days of freezing weather, this winter. The roses are now in full bloom, and the time of the singing of the birds has come.

May God bless and preserve you. My respectful compliments to Mrs. Spalding. Yours Sincerely, PHILANDER CHASE."

Dr. Spalding was often consulted by seafaring men, who would sail away, leaving their bills unpaid. In his endeavors to obtain payment, he had occasion in 1806 to inquire the whereabouts of these patients from friends in Portland, Maine. Amongst many letters concerning such disagreeable disputes, I choose one or two from Dr. William Frost,[2] and Mr. Kinsman[3] of that place.

[1] My Brother Salmon (1761–1806) was a Dartmouth graduate and a lawyer in Portland. He was "All at sea" with a Jury, but so brimful of facts and cases that he was known as "The Law Book." His nephew, Salmon Portland Chase, the gifted Secretary of the Treasury, in 1861, was named after his Uncle Salmon, but to honor him, particularly, the nephew was given the middle name of Portland, where his uncle had practiced law.

[2] William Frost (1781-1823) was the sixth son of Gen. John Frost of Kittery who had served in the Revolution and was blessed with a large family. He served as surgeon's mate in the Navy, was a physician in Portland and died in the West Indies on his 42nd birthday. Whether he was in the Tropics as a Ship's Surgeon at that time, or in search of health, I have not discovered. In looking over some old books, I lately found a few of his which testified to his good literary taste.

[3] Nathan Kinsman (1777–1829) was graduated at Dartmouth in the Class of 1799 when Dr. Spalding was Chemical Lecturer; they roomed together at one time and were great friends. Kinsman came from Lincoln, Maine, and settled in Portland, where he had an extensive law practice. He is said to have had more "Embargo Cases" than any other lawyer, and it was facetiously remarked, that if you only spelled "Embargo" backward (O grab me) you would understand why lawyers were so anxious to be retained in such profitable cases.

In his first letter Dr. Frost asks for Vaccine.

"Portland, March 10, 1806. Dear Spalding: I have had repeated occasions to apply to you for favours and again have the presumption to request another.

I have had several applications of late to Inoculate for the Kine Pock and am under the necessity to apply to you for some of the vaccine matter, presuming you have some fresh and genuine or can procure some, as you generally Inoculate at this season of the year. If you have any you can rely on as genuine, be so obliging as to put up a small quantity in the manner you usually transport it, and forward it by Mail, and I will satisfy you in whatsoever may be the price of it, and convey it to you through the same medium. . . . Also, the volumes on Surgery (Deasult's) that I subscribed for last summer; if they have been sent on to you. If you will let me know what the price of them was, I will remit you the money at the same time. If the Postage of the volumes of Surgery isn't more than 2/ or 2/6 to Portland, you may send it with the Vaccine matter, and directed to Portland. But if the Postage is more, you you may keep it, until you have a favourable opportunity to forward it, or wait until I come to Portsmouth. Excuse the liberty I take, and permit me to Subscribe myself, your Sincere Friend and Serv't., Wm. Frost."

In his second note, Dr. Frost writes about the bad debts.

"Portland, July 9, 1806. Dear Spalding: Your letters, one with the Kine Pox matter and the other including the Bills for Collection, both came safely to hand. The consequence of my being obliged to go to Boston a day or two after I rec'd your Present of Vaccine virus: it was out of my power to inoculate with it until since my return, which has been only about two weeks. Soon after my return I inoculated with it, but the period has not yet come to determine whether it has not been injured by age. . . . I something expect it is.

Your bills against patients I have settled in the usual way of settling Doctor's bills nowadays, by taking Notes of hand, in payment: which you will receive enclosed. They would not give the Notes for a shorter time. Sawyer tried to plead off by saying "He had sworn out of jail lately, and did not know that he ever should be able to pay it," but I at last persuaded him to give the note.

Mr. Chase informs me he has collected one account, and will pay it to your order. It will be as well to direct him to send it by mail as it will go safer. Your Obliged Humble Servt., Wm. Frost.

P.S. If this vaccine should not prove good, I presume that I shall once more intrude on your goodness for a little more."

Mr. Chase died about this time, and the bills were then left with Mr. Kinsman who wrote to this effect about collecting them.

"Portland, Nov. 19, 1806: Dear Sir: On settling one of your accounts I recollect a request in a letter from you, that whoever the attorney might be, some information on the subject should be forwarded to you, and, was it not Court Week, I could give you more information on the topic, of your accounts handed me by Dr. Frost. But, the evening is the only time I have to answer letters, and at my house. I, therefore, can only say that this man paid $15, and Costs. So soon as the Court rises I will forward the money by post, or in any other way that you direct. Shall be very happy to obey your commands should any more of your patients stroll down this way. In Friendship; Your OBDT Servt, NATHAN KINSMAN."

Writing again in February, 1807, Mr. Kinsman says:

"The only apology I can make for not acknowledging your last letter and the one before it, covering sundry demands for collection, is, that the unusual calls on me of late in the line of my profession has caused me to forget answering them. I have at last attended to some of the accounts, but have collected only $10. I offered one man to take a Note at 12 months, but he is such a poor drunken fellow, that no one will endorse him. Another is dead, and his wife, if he ever married her, has no property as I am informed by the constable."

In a final letter Mr. Kinsman writes:

"Enclosed you have the $19, the balance due you after I charged off my commission. Your Friend, KINSMAN."

I will now go back to 1806 and introduce two new friends of Dr. Spalding, Mr. Brackett of New York, a well-known lawyer and Hon. Silas Dinsmoor, a distinguished politician of that era. Joseph Warren Brackett (1775–1826) came from Greenland, New Hampshire, was graduated at Dartmouth in 1800, and settled in New York, where he practiced law and acted as attorney for Dr. Spalding when he moved to that city.

Silas Dinsmoor (1766–1847) was born in Windham, New Hampshire, and died in Kentucky. After graduating from Dartmouth he went into politics, and was now Government Agent for the Choctaw Indians. He later served as Quartermaster General and Colonel in the War of 1812. After

visiting Dr. Spalding, in 1806, with a letter of introduction from Mr. Brackett, he travelled into Maine to study Indian conditions in that State, and on his return renewed the Portsmouth friendship and continued it many years.

The early autumn brought a most unexpected letter from Dr. Noyes who had long been silent.

"Newburyport, August 30, 1806. My Good Friend: With what expectations hast thou opened this letter? Didst thou expect some Present, Information, or Sentiment? If thou didst, thou art not disappointed. Didst thou expect some petition? If thou didst, I shall be glad, for thine expectation will be fulfilled. But what is your petition? Why; that thou wouldst send me some kine pox infection. Please to take it on pointed quills and divert it to Dr. Francis Vergnies,[1] or Nathan Noyes. We have no news. The season is very healthy. I have bought the last edition of Rush's "Enquiries," and will send them to you if you wish. N. Noyes."

This same season appears to have witnessed a fresh campaign of vaccination in Maine, for Dr. Spalding had many requests for virus from that State. One of them was from Dr. John Church of Wiscasset, who later was drowned, and another from Dr. Cyrus Johnson of Cape Elizabeth, who mentions a famous man Dr. Jeremiah Barker.

"Portland, Oct. 12, 1806. Dear Sir: Dr. Barker[2] informs me that he has several times received from you some Kine Pock Matter, and doubts not but I could obtain the same favor by applying

[1] Dr. Francis Vergnies de Bonchiere (1767–1830) was born and educated in France, but practiced in the island of Guadeloupe. Exiled from there during a Negro Insurrection, he arrived in Newburyport almost simultaneously with an epidemic of Yellow Fever, during which he was of so great assistance to the afflicted that he was publicly thanked at a Town Meeting in 1797. Cheerful, charming and polite, he had the misfortune to lose his eyesight from glaucoma, but continued cheerful to the last. He left to the library of the Massachusetts Medical Society his valuable medical books in several languages but they have long since been scattered.

[2] Dr. Jeremiah Barker (1752–1835) has been broadly depicted by me in a monograph read before the Maine Historical Society in 1910. He was born in Scituate, Massachusetts, served on a Privateer and on the Penobscot expedition during the Revolution, and then practiced in Gorham and in Portland, Maine, and finally retired to Gorham. He was a most industrious practitioner, and writer, and ardent in the cause of Temperance, Vaccination and Alkalies in Fever. His detailed accounts of the Weather and of Epidemics in Maine possess much medico historical value.

to you. If you have some fresh matter and will be kind enough to send me a small quantity, you will Very Much Oblige, Yours to Serve, CYRUS JOHNSON."

The Galvanic Battery invented by Dr. Spalding also made him well known and brought him many inquiries concerning its use. One of this sort from Dr. Abel Blanchard of Pittsfield, New Hampshire, may serve as an example of many others.

"Pittsfield, New Hampshire, Nov. 10, 1806. Sir: I have sent to you for 1 lb of Zinc and 1 oz Ipecac, which I will thank you to put up, or direct the bearer where he may procure them. The Zinc I want for the purpose of constructing Volta's Pile. I once made the attempt and failed. I took plates of Zink, Silver and pieces of pasteboard, placed the three successively and so on. I wet them with a solution of various salts, but could produce no effect. If not too much trouble I will thank you for information on the subject. Must the edge of my plate be dry? Must the Pile be insulated? Or, did I fail in some other particular? How many plates, the size of a Dollar will answer in all cases of Disease where Galvanism is useful?

Not having any personal acquaintance with you, it is with reluctance I request of you information on the above subject, but presuming I shall thereby be enabled to form a Volta Pile, which shall be effectual, I take the liberty. I am Sir, Your Obdt. Servant: ABEL BLANCHARD."

Leaving now New England friends aside, we find by the next letter from Dr. Shadrack Ricketson of New York, that Dr. Spalding's acquaintance was extending far from home. Dr. Ricketson was a physician of good standing in the profession, had written, as we shall see, a Popular Work on Health, and at this time is asking Dr. Spalding to obtain new subscribers.

"New York, 8 Mo. 9th. 1806. Dear Doctor: I sent thee some time past one of the Prospectuses of my Work, announced, on the "Means of preserving health and preventing Diseases," which is now in the press, and will shortly be completed. The plan of the Work, will, I apprehend, be understood from what has already circulated, but as it is designed for popular use as well as for the Faculty, it is not dressed in Medical Garb but written mostly in as plain and intelligible a style as could be well consistent with its nature, and in order to render it still more so to every capacity, I have prepared a glossary of the technical Terms that have unavoidably occurred by which its utility and acceptance will I hope

be increased. As the public have been fatigued and crowded with Subscriptions, I have proceeded to publish without, for which reason it will be more necessary to pave the way, and diffuse information of the publication in order that the sale may defray the expense of printing. I have, accordingly, asked the favour of my Medical Friends and Correspondents to spread Information of this Work.

I have consulted a great number of the most eminent of the Faculty on the acceptance and utility of the work, who generally speak encouragingly of it, and wish to see it published.

I wish that Information may circulate in Portsmouth and other parts that way, of the Work, and that it is intended for general use, and consequently important, and interesting to all. I wish to be informed of the reception of this, with thy Prospect of the sale of the Work, that way, and any observation that may occur, respecting it. Please to mention what trusty Bookseller or Agent in Portsmouth would be suitable to commit some of the books to. I judge that every Work designed for popular use should not only be as intelligible, but as concise and cheap as possible. I have accordingly, condensed mine into a 12 Mo Vol. tho it contains as much as some in 8 vo. The price is not fixed, but it will not exceed 150 Cents, bound, by retail, and a 13th will be allowed Gratis to a purchaser of 1 dozen, as if published by subscription. In Haste, Thine; SHAD RICKETSON."

Dr. Spalding agreed to sell a few copies of the work, and with them came this second letter.

"400 Pearl St., N. Y., 10th. mo. 18th. 1806. Dear Doctor: I acknowledge the receipt of thy letter and am much obliged by thy attention to my requests respecting my books which are now out of the press and ready for Sale.

I herewith send Thee 26 of them for sale at 125 cents, each, reserving one to Thyself for disposing of each dozen. As C. Pierce [1] is a stranger to me, I think best of committing them to Thy care. The expense of publication, having far exceeded my expectations and the calculation of the printer, I was almost induced to sell it higher, but desirous of adapting it to the ability of every purchaser and the capacity of the reader, as I have endeavored to do by the language and a Glossary, I have concluded to sell as low, as above.

Although the Recommendations printed in the book are from the first Physicians in the City, yet as their names may not be

[1] Charles Pierce (1779–1851) was a Portsmouth Journalist and Bookseller, who published for several years a local newspaper entitled "The Oracle of the Day" and "The United States Oracle of to Day." He left Portsmouth after a successful career and died in Philadelphia.

known to the public at large, That Way,[1] I thought it might introduce and expedite the sale, if thou were to add a short recommendatory paragraph to accompany the advertisement in the Papers, in which, if another influential physician in the town were to join, it might be well. I wish to be informed of the reception of the books with the prospect of their scale, That Way, and whether any more will probably be wanted.

I note thy work "On Cutaneous Diseases," which will be acceptable to the World.

Thy Bills of Mortality were also acceptable, and I herewith send Thee a copy of the Proceedings of our Med. Soc., of the Committe of Correspondence of which I am one.

Thy Respectful and Obliged Friend. SHAD. RICKETSON."

The last letters belonging to this year are from Dr. Thomas Burnside (1787–1815) of Plymouth, New Hampshire, and reveal, not only his intentions to practice surgery, but Dr. Spalding's kind disposition. Dr. Burnside obtained his medical degree at Dartmouth, in 1805, but died early.

"Plymouth, December 10, 1806. Dear Sir: I hope you will not be surprised at receiving this from one with whom you are unacquainted; tho' almost a stranger, yet I have had the pleasure of seeing you at our Lodge at Haverhill, and accompanied you to visit Mr. Webster who was then unwell at that place. I have attended two courses of Medical Lectures at Dartmouth, and have been in this town about a year as a practitioner in Physic and Surgery. My pecuniary circumstances are rather low, having expended considerably for my education. I now want very much Surgical Instruments for amputations, Trephining, Couching, etc. My motive in writing to you, was to beg you to inform me whether I could get them in Portsmouth, and what would be the expense of each set. And, if I should send by a friend, whether you would be good enough to pick them, that I might not pay for useless instruments. . . . Your Most Hble. Serv't, THOMAS BURNSIDE."

In his second letter, dated Feb. 12, 1807, he continues the subject.

"Dear Sir: Your kind letter I have just received. I know not how to acquit your kindness. The amputating instruments you mention, I would buy, provided they will answer my purpose, and will be sold for their real value. On you, I must depend for this, as I cannot come for them. If they were a good set, are unhurt, and you are persuaded they will answer my purpose, I would be glad to purchase them. A full set, I take it, will contain an amputating,

[1] "That way" means "In your town."

a spring saw, two or three different sized knives, a tourniquet, a tenaculum, and perhaps some other things which I now do not think of, together with a case in which they are kept. I expected these are all constructed according to Mr. Bell.[1] I am determined to procure a good set, if any. . . . The instruments of midwifery I do not want, but if you will procure and send with the rest a catheter of elastic gum, I would be very glad. The man by whom I shall send for those instruments will go to Portsmouth in two or three weeks. I therefore, wish you to inform me further respecting them, as soon as may be, that I may agree with him to procure them; if so shall send him to you. Your Humble Servt. THOS. BURNSIDE."

Finally on February 27, 1807, he writes:

"Dear Sir: I am happy in receiving yours of the 20 Inst. The instruments according to your description will meet my approbation. Please to deliver them to Esq. Russell, the bearer of this, for which he will pay you. Be good enough to send the catheter such as you mentioned, by him. I am told that those of the elastic gum, which are preserved on a straight wire are preferable, but send such as you can procure.

The unwearied pains you have taken in this business is more than I could expect. If I can ever be of any service to you in any respect, I shall be happy. I hold myself under the greatest obligations to you, and am Ever, you very Hmble Servant, THOS. BURNSIDE."

[1] "According to Mr. Bell" means John or Charles Bell of Edinburgh the famous surgeons."

CHAPTER X.

American Edition of Willan on Cutaneous Diseases. Benjamin Fay, an Episode in the Life of Dr. Nathan Smith. Post Roads in New Hampshire. Letters 1807–1808.

The mention of "Thy work on Cutaneous Diseases" in Dr. Ricketson's letter reminds me of the fact that at this time Dr. Spalding became interested in diseases of the skin, from seeing several Parts of Dr. Robert Willan's elaborate work with colored plates, entitled "The Description and Treatment of Cutaneous Diseases."

Dr. Robert Willan, the author (1757–1813), was educated at Edinburgh, and on removing to London obtained an appointment in the Public Dispensary, from which he retired after twenty years of duty, honored with a set of silver. Willan was the First English Dermatologist and his classification of skin diseases is still practically used for all diagnostic purposes. His work on skin diseases issued in Parts, was first published in 1798, but not finished in his life time. He also wrote a "Life of Jesus," and published an illustrated treatise on "Vaccination." Becoming dropiscal, he journed to Madeira in search of health but died there.

Amongst the various letters which bear upon Dr. Spalding's American Edition of Willan, the following seem worth printing to show his intentions which, however, failed owing to his inability to find any person who could print impressions in colors.

The first artist employed to engrave a Plate from Part IX of Willan's book was Dr. Alexander Anderson (1775–1870) who was born in New York, but was early taken into Connecticut by his Father who feared conscription into the British Navy, during the Revolution. Although Anderson showed talent as a draughtsman at an early age, his father insisted upon his studying medicine, and it has been asserted that the son was for a while a House Physician in the New York Hospital, but soon abandoned medicine.

Anderson was at this time all the rage with his wood cuts and surgical engravings, and was for that reason engaged

for the new Willan. The only letter which I find from him is the following, in which he asks for payment and offers to forward the finished Plate.

"New York, April 8, 1806. Dear Sir: I wrote you some time ago by a vessel which, I understand, has met with some accident, and since my letter may not have reached you, I thought it necessary in this one, to state the contents.

I mentioned in it, the difficulty of drawing, for the $50 you offered me, and supposed that some opportunity might offer for sending the Plate. As I have to pay that sum the 1st of May, if you could make it convenient you would much oblige. . . . Yours Respectfully, ALE'X ANDERSON."

As it seemed from this and other letters, that Anderson could engrave a plate, but could not pull from it colored impressions, Dr. Spalding directed it to be sent to Philadelphia by his cousin, John Jackson, then in the Insurance business in New York. With his letter, Dr. Spalding enclosed a draft for $125, from which Mr. Jackson paid Dr. Anderson a final $20, and held the remainder to Dr. Spalding's credit.

The plate was sent on to Mr. John Vaughan, another Son of Portsmouth then living in Philadelphia, with directions to hand it to Mr. David Edwin a second celebrated engraver of that era, to see if he could print from it in colors.

Mr. David Edwin, a son of John Edwin, an English Comic actor of wonderful repute, was born in Bath, England, and in his 16th year was apprenticed to an engraver in London. David, however, ran away to sea and settled in Philadelphia in 1797, where he acquired much renown as an engraver of portraits. After twenty years of great success, he lost his eyesight and retired from his arduous occupation.

A letter at this point from Mr. John Vaughan throws a little more light on the Willan Plate, and carries the story along.

"Philadelphia, 24 December, 1806. Dear Doctor: When your friend Richards[1] was here, I was on Jury Duty, and so continued

[1] Mr. Richards was the Universalist Clergyman, and prominent Mason from Portsmouth, before mentioned. He was now "On Trial" with the Universalist Church in Philadelphia. He always spoke of Mrs. Spalding as "Lady" Spalding, and predicted fame for Dr. Spalding, saying: "I expect to see the time when Lyman Spalding's head, instead of being on his shoulders will be acting as Support of the Greatest Medical Journal in the World."

near six weeks, which made attention to him, impossible. He has given great satisfaction; they have invited him, and seem disposed to exert themselves to make his situation agreeable and to put him in the way, by teaching, of adding to the salary they can afford to give.

Your Plate has not been many days here. I put it at once into the hands of Edwin, but he has not yet returned it. The vessel you mentioned arrived yesterday. I shall take care to send it by her, with the Impressions from it which I may receive from Edwin.

I remain Yours Sincerely, Jn. Vaughan."

When the impressions of Anderson's Plate from the press of David Edwin reached Portsmouth, and were found defective in color, being very pale and indistinct, Dr. Spalding entered into correspondence with a third engraver of national fame, James Akin, then of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Mr. Akin will long be known to collectors by his prints of "Wolfe's Tavern" in Newbury, and by a frontispiece of "King David with his Harp" as depicted in a "Set of Sacred Hymns" published by Amos Blanchard of Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1805. Akin's "Perpetual Almanac" published by G. Goold, of Portland, in 1805, is excessively rare and prized by connoisseurs.

I have not discovered when Mr. Akin was born, but he was still flourishing in 1833, and I have traced him through his long career as a druggist, restaurant keeper, lithographer, caricaturist, and engraver of Portraits (amongst them the familiar one of Dr. Rush) and of book plates.

With the year 1807 we hear farther news from Mr. Akin concerning the impressions for the American Willan.

"Newburyport, May 12, 1807. Dear Sir: This morning your note was put into my hands by one of the Portsmouth Stage Drivers, by whom it was my intention to have forwarded this answer. I do not particularly recollect how Dr. Noyes understood me, nor do I sufficiently recollect whether I wished "Some Physician Present," when I should experiment for you. Certain, I am, at this moment, however, that it would be wholly unnecessary to require your attendance at the distance between Portsmouth and Newburyport. I am not unwilling to let any person see the process who should desire it, but I cannot suppose that a gratification of this kind would animate you to leave your business.

If you will forward me the Plate, I will, either in your absence or presence endeavor to produce such impressions of it as will satisfy you of my competency to such a business, requiring nothing

more than what can reasonably be expected for the loss of my time, and the cost of such ingredients as I shall be necessitated to procure.

If the experiment is conformable to your ideas, and affords satisfactory produce to entitle me to an engagement for the entire work, I shall then be ready to converse farther with you upon the subject, and afterwards determine about the price.

I remain with perfect Respect, Sir, Your Ob'd't, Serv't. JAMES AKIN.

P.S. Week after next will suit me. J. A."

As it happened that neither Dr. Spalding nor Mr. Akin could leave his business, the matter rested until June when Mr. Akin wrote again.

"Newburyport, June 6, 1807. Sir: The business which would draw me to Portsmouth can at present be terminated without my presence there, and of course I shall not (now) see you as I conjectured. It would be almost impossible to give you a direct answer respecting Willan's Plates. The number of impressions to be printed, ought first to be known, and the different plates inspected as to the quality of the work required to each. You probably will be in Newburyport before a great while, and as you appear so much pleased with my competent abilities as to wish for an answer, I give the preference to an interview with you upon the subject, as a great liability exists that our letters may be multiplied without accomplishing any object for which we should write.

The expensive and tedious process of printing in colours could not be undertaken, unless something of consequence was expected from the number to be printed off each plate. I remain Very Respectfully, Y'r Ob'd., Serv't, JAMES AKIN.

P.S. The paper you sent me can be bought here; tho' excellent of its kind, it is wholly unfit for the purpose of printing in Colours."

Soon after the date of this letter Mr. Akin became involved in a quarrel concerning some drawings for Bowditch's "Navigator," and fearing a law suit, he decided to leave Newbury as the following letter shows.

"Newburyport, October 27, 1807. Sir: I received your box and Plate when I was in great bustle and confusion of packing up and selling my furniture in preparation for a Departure out of this Commonwealth, but as I had to print about 300 impressions off another Plate, I supposed that it would be in my power to strike off a few Proofs, in colours, for you, and kept the plate for that purpose without saying anything to you upon the subject, tho' I requested Dr. Noyes to let you know my intention, and delivered him your letter at the time. It has, however, been wholly out of

my power to do anything of the kind, because my tenancy expired before I was able to complete what business I had for some time past been engaged in. I therefore, send you back your Plate, as I rec'd it; am very sorry that it has not been possible for me to gratify your wishes.

When I arrive at the Southward, I shall be glad to afford you all the service I can, if at that distance I shall be considered to suit your purposes. Upon a Review of my calculations for what I did in the first instance, I find a charge of two dollars expended for materials to experiment for you, which can be paid to the Bearer for me. And I am, Sir, Your Ob'd Serv't. JAMES AKIN."

With this third failure to obtain satisfactory colored impressions Dr. Spalding abandoned Willan's Plates, and all that remains of the American Edition as planned by him, are two very rare and probably unique impressions of Plate IX, Figs. 1 and 2; of Lepra Alphos, and Lepra Nigricans, pulled from the plate engraved by Dr. Alexander Anderson. A pale pinkish impression is the one pulled by David Edwin, a dark, brownish one represents "the experiment" made by James Akin.

Dr. Spalding's reputation already established in 1801 by his vaccination campaign had by the year 1807 so much increased that he was now receiving many letters, only a few of which, however, can be printed for lack of space. One on family affairs from his Brother Silas may here find place.

"Cornish, Jany. 20, 1807. Dear Brother: I have nothing particular to write, but we are all well as usual. You wrote about our coming down this winter, but it is so far advanced and no snow, that I have sent my pork to Boston by waggon and had returns from it. It fetched me $20 per bbl. and shall not get another load that would pay for transport so far. I talk of going next week with a load of rye as far as Amherst and exchange it for salt, if there comes snow so that I can have a run down, so far; Grain is plenty here, rye at 4/, corn the same, wheat at 7/6 and we hear it is so low in the Market that it wont pay, for freight expenses are so high. Money is scarce in the Country with us. If I could come down and fetch your town (up) or Portsmouth could come up, it would be a fine advantage to the country. But in vain it is to think any such thing. Mrs. Spalding says we must wait until Next winter, and then the children will be older, so we can leave them better. I received your letter which mentions your laying in Nuts and Cider. We have plenty of both but we must content our Noble Selves to eat our own this winter. If you love your Marm and her cheeses too, if we have a chance to send one down

we will. Step up some morning Before Breakfast, take Mrs. Spalding by the hand and see us. Send a billet, and we will have a Turkey for you and ourselves, too. SILAS SPALDING."

The first letter of the year from Dr. Smith contains valuable information concerning Dartmouth and an alleged murder.

"Hanover, March 12, 1807. Dear Sir: I have just now received your favor dated 5th February; in what corner of the post office it has lurked for more than a month I do not know. I am, however, glad to receive it at this late hour. Respecting the Object of the N. H. Medical Society,[1] I shall most cordially and zealously endeavor to promote it. I am appointed by the Hon'ble Board of Trust, for Dart. College to attend the next Legislature in this State on business for the College,[2] which will give me a very favorable opportunity to cooperate with the Medical Society in any measure that will be conducive to the respectability of the profession. Our last course of lectures in this University was a fortunate one. We had a much larger audience than usual, and I was able to pay more undivided attention to the business, so that we now stand on higher ground as it respects the medical branch of the College, than we have ever done at any former period.

Last year you wrote me respecting republishing Willan's Book on Diseases of the Skin, and since that I have heard no more of it. I should like to know what we can expect respecting that work.

Perhaps you may if you take one of the Walpole Papers observe a publication respecting the death of Benj. Fay, of Alstead, who was supposed to be poisoned.[3] The piece signed by my name I wrote at the request of the friends of the deceased, but did not put my name to it, but sent it to them to do as they pleased as to

[1] The object of the Society was a Resolution against Quackery introduced by Dr. Spalding.

[2] "Business for the College" means an effort to obtain State aid for a Medical School building at Hanover.

[3] "The case of Dr. Fay" deserves mention, because it is a hitherto overlooked episode in the life of Dr. Smith.

Sometime in September, 1806, Mr. Fay died and was buried, but as rumors arose that he had been poisoned by his Mother-in-Law, Mrs. Margery Fay, she was arrested and the body exhumed for examination. As most of the physicians present were sure that Mr. Fay had been poisoned, they soon found what they called arsenic. Mrs. Fay was then bound over for trial. Meanwhile, Dr. Smith had heard of the case, and after investigating it, he wrote a paper, as mentioned in his letter.

From an old copy of Dr. Smith's communication I note here the points which he made against the physicians.

It was claimed, that the body was found swollen; the pit of the

publishing it. They, either ignorantly or willfully mistook my intention as respects signing my name, and put it to the piece.

You will perceive that some of the learned Faculty are pretty severely lashed. What effect it will have or how they will behave toward me, I do not know, nor do I much care, being confident that they merited the whole of what they have received, and more also, as you will see by the history of their conduct. Since I saw you, I

stomach mortified; that the contents of the stomach tarnished a knife blade and when boiled, revealed a metal ball resembling arsenic.

Dr. Smith argued that were people acquainted with the effects of arsenic, nothing could more effectually expose the ignorance and folly of the physicians than a bare recital of their opinions. But as the assertions of medical men frequently obtain more credence than comported with the good of society, he wishes to make a few observations.

"That Fay died from poison seems to have been inferred from the suddenness of his death though he failed to exhibit a symptom of poisoning. He died in an apoplectic state without evacuations, convulsions, pain or distress, being insensible from the moment he was found indisposed. Compare this with the effects of arsenical poisoning which are, nausea, vomiting, purging, hiccough, pain in the stomach, convulsions, twitchings, salivation, asphyxia, and death."

"That those eminent physicians should find a body "SWOLLEN" eleven days after burial, should surprise none but themselves, as all other persons know it due to nature. As to "Mortification," on the pit of the stomach, how could it have found its way out through the integuments of the body, and like a Night Mare have couched itself on the pit of the stomach! Introduced into Court it proved to be a mere scab, the most trifling thing in the world."

"Then they diagnosed arsenic from the contents of the stomach tarnishing metallic spoons, but the last food the man took, apples, bread and milk will tarnish metals just like arsenic. Their last experiment with a quart of the stomach-contents exposed to a firey heat for three hours resulted in a metallic substance in the bottom of the red hot kettle, yet arsenic is so volatile that if there had been a pound of it in the vessel it would soon have been utterly dissipated with that degree of heat. And after all the metallic button was more likely lead than anything else."

"Thus from the fatuity of the Faculty and the credulity of others, the whole country has been alarmed with the rumor of a horrid murder of which there is no evidence at all. For when the Report is examined by the touchstone of legal evidence it vanishes like a scroll, leaving not the least evidence that the man was poisoned."

"The case shows how careful, Judges should be, when life and character are at stake, in giving credit to the reports and testings of the faculty, at least in matters of opinion depending solely upon their professional knowledge. NATHAN SMITH."

As a result of this note, the woman was discharged. Expert testimony of this sort, might be made useful now a days to Judges and Juries alike, if only the Law would permit.

have performed the operation of Lithotomy, successfully on a young man in Marshfield, Vermont.

I am with sentiments of esteem, yours Sincerely, NATHAN SMITH."

The following letters from Dr. Frost of Portland reflect Dr. Spalding's interest in vaccination, public schools and baths.

"Portland, April 17, 1807. Dear Sir: I have received several letters from you since I last wrote, and among the number one enclosing a Bill of Mortality for 1806. It seems that Consumption does not cease to make its ravages in Portsmouth, which certainly is to be exceedingly lamented, and proves the infant state of the healing Art, not only in that malady but in a variety of others.

Dr. Barker is now writing his observations on Consumption, and it is to be hoped they may be useful to the friends of Medical Science.

By the by, I have been sometime expecting to see your "Treatise on Cutaneous Diseases;" but have not as yet had the pleasure. I hope it won't be long first.

The Bills you enclosed to me, I put into the hands of your friend Kinsman, who told me sometime since he had collected the money for them, all, and presume before this you have rec'd it.

I was exceedingly sorry that my wife's health was such at the time Miss Jackson was in Portland on a visit, as to preclude her paying that attention to her we are always happy to pay to any of your, or our friends, Dr. Jackson's family, or friends.

If you have any Vaccine Virus by you at this time, you will much oblige me by sending a little enclosed on a thread in the manner you did last Spring, as Mrs. Frost wishes to have our little daughter vaccinated, and when I come your way, I will call and satisfy you for it.

With respect yours, etc., WM. FROST."

A week later Dr. Frost writes again.

"Portland, April 25. Dear Sir: I have made inquiries of two or three of the "School Committee," of this Town, relative to their "Rules and Regulations for Public Schools," and I was informed by them, that they have never seen any since they belonged to the Committee, which has been for several years, but that some Rules were drawn out by Judge Freeman,[1] some years ago which

[1] Judge Samuel Freeman (1742–1831) was one of the most remarkable office holders ever known. For he was Secretary of the Provincial Congress, and Post Master of Portland for Thirty Years and simultaneously Register and Judge of Probate and Clerk of Courts for forty-six years in all. In his younger days he published "The Town

have been either lost or misplaced, so that they are not to be found.

Relative to the prices of Tickets at our Public Baths, I am informed by the owner of it, that they are 25 cts. pr. Ticket and no cheaper if you purchase pr. the Dozen. But, the tickets by the Season, are $5 to go in as often as you please until winter commences, when they are not in operation. Your Friend and Serv't., Wm. Frost."

Another correspondent of this year was Dr. Luther Jewett (1772–1860) who had a remarkable career. Graduating from Dartmouth in 1795 he practiced medicine several years, abandoned medicine for the Law and was a Judge in the Vermont Courts and Member of Congress. He retired from the Law to the Pulpit, preached eloquently for years, and finally became the Editor of a newspaper in St. Johnsbury, Vermont. It is given to but few men to be successful in four professions as was Dr. Jewett. He writes to this effect:

"St. Johnsbury, April 30, 1807. Dear Sir: I acknowledge with gratitude the favor you have done me for several years past by sending me your Bill of Mortality for Portsmouth. Should you continue (to) publish, you will greatly oblige me by continuing to me. I have reason in addition to my wish to return my acknowledgments for writing this. I want to learn your opinion respecting the duration of the preventive power of the Kine Pock. No person has treated with more levity than I, the opinion maintained by some, that it will prevent the small pox for a time, but that its preventive power will diminish by time and become extinct. I have inoculated several hundred in the course of seven years past. Many have been tested satisfactorily. I have lately been inoculating with the variolus virus. Among a considerable number of Kine Pock patients who have repaired to the Hospital to test themselves with the small pox, a few who had the kine pock some years since, had arms as sore as is usual with S. Pox patients; swelling and soreness of the axillary glands; pain in the back; etc., but no eruptions or none which filled. What am I to think of this business? Did these persons have the genuine K.P? Would their systems have been equally affected had they been tested years ago? Would they now, if not tested till years hence? Your answer as speedily as convenient will much oblige,

Dear Sir, Your Friend, L. Jewett."

Officer" one of the earliest books printed in Portland, and in his old age he edited Parson Smith's "Journal of Events in Portland in the XVIII Century."

Mention has already been made of the difficulties of collecting bills in Portland, and here are similar instances occurring in Bath. The lawyer to whom the bills were handed, Nathaniel Coffin (1781–1864), was a friend of Dr. Spalding at Dartmouth, and a successful criminal lawyer in Maine. His home in Wiscasset, where he practiced for a while, was much frequented by young people and so many engagements resulted from meetings there, that it was called "The Match Factory." Mr. Coffin moved westward and acted as Treasurer of Watauga College in Illinois, where he died.

The following letters from him explain themselves.

"Bath, July 15, 1807. Dear Sir: I acknowledged the rec't of your Demand received some time ago, in a letter by a gentleman from this town. I then informed you that Melcher was at sea in a Schooner, and that the vessel was cast away near Liverpool, and that he and others were discharged, since when, nobody here has seen him.

Captain Trefethen was also at sea when I rec'd your account against him and is still but is daily expected. When he comes he will call or remit. He, no doubt, will pay first call.

Your Friend, etc., N. COFFIN."

Later on, Mr. Coffin discovered a mistake concerning this payment and wrote again.

"Bath, Dec'r. 15, 1807. Dear Sir: Capt. Henry Trefethen of this place has lately arrived and I have shown him your account. He says you must have mistaken the person. He says he lived with his family in Portsmouth, but that Dr. Cutter was their physician. He Says another Captain Henry Trefethen, an old gentleman also lived there, and also that a son of the Old Gentleman, a THIRD Capt. H. T., who lived at Monhegan was frequently at Portsmouth and your bill might be against one of them. If our Trefethen is not the man, as I am induced to believe he is not, by this statement and the confidence I have in him, I cannot render you any service in this particular. You will please write me, if you still think him the person and mention some circumstances respecting the place, sickness, etc., which may serve to convince him, as, if he can be satisfied the services were for him, or his family, he will readily pay. Your Friend, etc., N. COFFIN."

"Who would have thought that there were Three Henry Trefethens and all Sea Captains," Dr. Spalding may have said as he read Mr. Coffin's note, and we can sympathize with him with his bill unpaid for lack of identification.

As the use of scabs for vaccination increased, physicians tested their value and a letter from Dr. Waterhouse bearing upon this topic, at that time of much medical importance may here find a place.

"Cambridge, July 22, 1807. Dear Sir: I thank you for your communication respecting the long life of the scab. I have found the scab to communicate the true disease Two Months after it was taken from the arm. It seems to be the Christalline state of the matter, but I have thought or CONCEITED that it occasioned more inflamation in the pustule produced. I would thank you to send me some of the matter on a quill enclosed in a letter, that has been produced by the scab in question. I should like to compare it with some taken at the usual period. I am in the habit of preserving scabs, but I never use them when I can obtain other fresh limpid matter. If you could send me a couple of quills by the return of post, you will oblige, Y'r F'd and Humble Serv't., BENJ. WATERHOUSE."

When the Dartmouth Commencement of 1807 approached, Dr. Spalding was in the following way reminded by his old friend William Woodward, the College Treasurer, of a former promise.

Hanover, Aug. 9, 1807. Dear Sir: You will recall the engagement you entered into last Fall that you would by some means procure the attendance of Governor Langdon, at our next Commencement, should we give him a handsome election. The Condition is performed, and I hope you will not cease from your exertions to persuade him to attend. He will be cordially received and welcomed and his journey, so far as depends on his visit at Hanover, will, I presume, be rendered pleasant to him. You must not fail. Can you not perform the journey at the same time? We cannot at such a season on account of engagedness promise anything better to our friends than a license to do very much as they please, which to one so much at home as you are at Hanover, will be all that would be insisted on. Y'r Friend and H'B'l'e Serv't., WM. H. WOODWARD.

Governor Langdon had just been elected for the sixth or seventh time, but Dartmouth Histories do not tell us that he accepted this invitation.

Amongst the friends to whom Bills of Mortality were sent this year was Mr. Benjamin Dearborn of Boston, who, in 1780, when living in Portsmouth, had founded the First Grammar School for Girls, later on an Academy for Misses, and finally a Dancing Academy for Youths. He was an

ingenious man; invented scales and a printing press; and finally moved to Boston. He collected statistics of people who were struck by lightning when near open windows or doors during thunder showers, and issued a Circular concerning this topic. Mr. Dearborn is connected with the medical History of Boston, very intimately, as he left funds for the establishment of the Boston Dispensary.

After receiving a Bill of Mortality Mr. Dearborn wrote to this effect, on the overleaf of one of his Lightning-Circulars.

"Boston, 3rd. Sept. 1807. My dear Sir: Judging from your voluntary labors in collecting the facts for publishing Bills of Mortality, I conclude that you receive gratification from being presented with an opportunity of furnishing useful information. On this ground I take the liberty of addressing the enclosed Circular to you, with the hope that it will not be unacceptable. During my residence in Portsmouth, the following instances of injury by lightning occurred; Deacon Lane of Stratham, struck dead at an open door; A woman at the North End (in Portsmouth) struck dead at an open window; if I mistake not, her name was Clark; Mr. John Melcher's wife, in a room at her uncle Samuel Hill's, where a window was open, deprived her of her eyesight, and continued blind for some weeks; The house now owned by Mr. Chauncey (then Col. Long's) struck while closed, when the lightning passed into the cellar doing but little injury. If it should please you to collect the minute particulars of those events with any others within your knowledge, and communicate them, it may be productive of good and will be a gratification to

Sir, Yours very Respectfully, BENJAMIN DEARBORN."

Dr. Spalding in due season called public attention to this circular and mentioned a case of Ptosis (paralysis of the upper eyelid) caused by a stroke of lightning when a woman was standing at an open window, and which was cured by using galvanism.

A few days later came this interesting letter from Dr. Smith on medical and surgical topics.

"Hanover, Sept'r 13, 1807. Dear Sir: Respecting extracting the cataract on the right eye, I have performed once only on that eye. I stood behind the patient and introduced the knife in the usual manner excepting the edge was turned in an opposite direction, so as to cut the flap upward, which is preferable to cutting it downward, as the cicatrix is apt to produce some obstruction to vision in looking down on the ground, which is more necessary for all but

Divines, than looking upward. I should prefer the method I have pointed out to either of the methods you propose.

My pupilage fees are as usual $66 66/100, per year; $40 for one course of lecture only.

I hardly know how to advise in your Case. I am inclined, however, that it is a case of morbid excitement of the blood vessels of the head. Should think that those remedies which diminish morbid excitement would be proper. I have succeeded in several Cases of irregular action of the heart and arteries with opium and white vitriol. I give a grain of opium with a grain of the Vitriol night and morning, varying the dose and proportions of the medicines according to circumstances. Fowler's Mineral Solution has been recommended for nervous headache, but I do not know that there is much similarity between the cause of your complaint and that of nervous headache or at least I do not know that the analogy is such as to warrant the use of so formidable a remedy. The opium when given to overcome diseased action should be continued at such intervals as to keep the system under the impression of it for a great many days. I speak of Chronic disease. I have sent you some blood root; all I can find time to write respecting it at present is, that it possesses all the properties of other emetics with some peculiar to itself. When given in doses of several grains it pukes and produces a great prostration of strength; more than most other emetics, perhaps nearly as much as Tobacco, or Foxglove, tho' I do not think it so dangerous in overdoses as either of those I have mentioned. I give it in Powder, in tinctures and in simple watery infusions, and where I do not wish to have it prove emetic, often combine opium with it. I repeat the dose three or four times each day. In Inflammatory rheumatism I give it so as to puke, and repeat it once or twice a day, for sometimes it has proved very useful in that disease. I have lately had three successful operations on blind patients; two were cataracts and the third had closure of the pupil which I opened with the couching needle, after several attempts, so as to give pretty perfect vision.

I am with high Esteem, yours, Most Sincerely, NATHAN SMITH."

In the following note from Dr. Noyes, we get a glimpse of the skeleton which Dr. Smith brought from Europe for Dr. Spalding.

"Newburyport, Sept. 15th, 1807. Dear Sir: I now hasten to comply with your request by taking the first opportunity of water-carriage to return your skeleton. I ought also to embrace the same opportunity of offering an apology for retaining it so long. I kept it a long while in hope of carrying it to Portsmouth myself, but at length discouraged and ashamed I determined last Spring to return it by Capt. Noyes. But, alas! the frailty of human

nature. I was once more tempted to trespass on your forbearance and I yielded to the temptation!!! In short, my friend, a young gentleman from Cambridge applied to me for tuition, and I, after a few maiden difficulties yielded to his solicitations, and concluded to retain your Skeleton a few months longer. I am, however, arrested in the middle of my flight, and, stripped of my borrowed plumage, stand exposed a naked Daw. However, this mishap is owing to no fault of yours, and therefore I shall not deprive you of my hearty thanks for the long loan in which you have indulged me. I shall enclose in the box with the skeleton, your "Willan," for the perusal of which also accept my thanks. This too I should have returned sooner, had I not apprehended that it might be wanted by Akin. I sincerely congratulate you on your success in couching, and hope that the other cases which you have engaged will prove equally fortunate. Is the Influenza pretty general and severe in Portsmouth? It has occasioned one death here; that of a lady more than ninety years of age. When combined with Cholera Infantum it has been alarming. But children have not, I believe, been so generally affected as adults. Your Friend and Humble Serv't., N. Noyes."

Lord's "History of Dartmouth College" has much to say of Dr. Cyrus Perkins (1778–1844) who was graduated from that College both Academically (1800) and Medically (1802), practiced in Boston and in Hanover, was Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the Dartmouth Medical School, and contributed many papers to the medical magazines of the day. When New Hampshire politicians quarrelled with the College, and established Dartmouth University, Dr. Perkins "went over" to the new Institution, but when defeated by Webster, he resigned his new Professorship, practiced in New York, and finally retired to Staten Island where he died.

Two brief letters from this interesting medical character may here be printed, as showing his friendship for Dr. Spalding.

"Boston, June 25, 1807. Dear Sir: I have sent to Troy for the first volume of Bell.[1] I was out of town on receipt of your other letters but Dr. J. C. Warren told me he sent you the Cowpox virus. In great haste, Y'r Friend, and H. O. Serv't, Cyrus Perkins."

"Boston, Oct. 7, 1807. Dear Sir: I send you with this, your Wig, fashioned as near as it can be done according to your direc-

[1] The "Bell" was a book on Surgery by John Bell and "H." "O." stands for "Humble Obedient."

ions. Mr. Rogers the Wigmaker says the temples will gradually recede from each other by wearing. The other faults, he says are remedied, as he believes. I send also the Vol. of Bell in sheets, as you directed. I obtained it from Troy, N. Y., for which I have paid THREE Dols, to Thomas and Andrews who sent for it. We have no news of moment — Distressingly healthy —. Yours Cordially, CYRUS PERKINS.

P.S. The pocket book I lost (but found again) at Dover, contained 98 Dols, only, instead of some Thousands as reported. I had several NOTES, inside to the amount of $3 or 4 Thousand. So much for a Story!!!"

Next we have a brief note from Dr. Jeremiah Barker formerly of Gorham, Maine, but now of Portland, at what is now called Stroudwater.

"October 17, 1807. Dear Sir: I take the liberty to introduce to you Mr. Hubbard,[1] requesting that you would favour me with a little Cow Pox matter or inform him where it can be procured. I have taken up my residence in Portland, where I pursue the study and practice of medicine, and devote a part of my time to writing medical history. I should be glad to hear from you when convenient. I hear that you do well, and hope you will continue to alleviate human misery, to your temporal advantage, at least. Yours in Sincerity, J. BARKER."

Following this is a similar inquiry from Dr. Samuel Foster (1789–1826) of Candia, New Hampshire, who occupied many positions of trust in the New Hampshire Medical Society.

"Candia, Nov. 17, 1807. Dear Sir: Several years ago I procured some cow pox matter and inoculated some of my children, and I presume they had the genuine disease. Since then I have had more vaccine and inoculated others of my family, and a few other persons. The unbelief of the major part of the people in this vicinity has prevented my keeping matter by successions of vaccinations to this time. I have now two children, and some friends to inoculate. These, are, therefore to request you to send me by bearer, some cow pox virus, and if you have leisure, to write me a line, delineating your manner of inoculation and any other things necessarily connected therewith, you will much oblige, Your Friend, SAMUEL FOSTER."

The Diaries of Dr. Spalding quoted in the early portion of this work show him riding on horseback on the roads of

[1] Mr. Hubbard is Dr. O. Hubbard from whom some capital letters shall soon appear.

Vermont and New Hampshire, and we have reason to believe that he had good knowledge of their wretched condition. As the agitation for their improvement was now becoming acute, he headed a petition from Portsmouth for a Post Road through New Hampshire and sent it, to his personal friends, the Senator and Members of Congress now in Washington, General Storer;[1] Mr. D. M. Durrell;[2] and Mr. Francis Gardner.[3]

Of the replies of these friends in Congress, three notes from General Storer will give an idea of them all.

"Washington City, 4th Nov. 1807. Dear Sir: You will perceive by the "National Intelligencer" enclosed, that your Petition respecting a Post Road to Concord, is before the proper Committee. Be assured that I shall attend to it in every stage. . . . We are anxiously waiting the issue of European negotiations, and of course have not yet entered on the most important Concerns of the Nation. Your Ob'd't Servant, Clement Storer."

Writing again on the 26th, he adds:

"Mr. Gardner and myself call on the proper Committee tomorrow, for the purpose of urging the expediency of a Post Road embracing the whole route from Portsmouth to Charlestown, via Concord, Hillsboro', etc. There is no doubt we shall succeed." With Esteem, CLEMENT STORER."

And finishing up the subject in January of 1808 he says:

"I am sorry that your anxiety is so much excited for the fate of our Post Road. I think that my last report was encouraging. The Committee agreed to our request more than a month since, and a General Bill is preparing, embracing our object and many

[1] Clement Storer (1769–1830) was a merchant on the Pier Wharf in Portsmouth, very much of a politician, having served as Member of Congress and Senator, very stately in his fashionably cut suit of blue clothes, and very grand on horseback as General of the Militia of the State.

[2] Daniel Meserve Durrell (1770–1841) was a friend at Dartmouth, and now residing in Dover. He was in succession, Member of Congress, District Attorney, Judge of Common Pleas, and a successful lobbyist.

[3] Francis Gardner (1738–1814) was the Grand Old Man of New Hampshire Politics, at this time. He had been graduated at Harvard as far back as 1758, and in all he preached the Gospel for fifty years. He was elected to Congress in his 68th year, when XXth Century men should long be dead, but students of the proceedings of Congress in those days will find Mr. Gardner a clever orator and keen debater. Having fought the Devil so long, he was not afraid of War with England now looming large in Washington.

others. It will take considerable time to get it through. I hope it will not be embargoed on the passage.

Accept the assurance of my respect and esteem. CLEMENT STORER."

We are glad to learn that Dr. Spalding's petition, with others, produced the passage of a Law for Post Roads throughout New England.

The Christmas letter from Silas Spalding suggests that Dr. Spalding had failed to get satisfaction from a Cornish cow driven to Portsmouth.

"Dear Brother: I set down to inform you that we are all well as usual, likewise the rest of your friends in these parts. As for some questions you wrote in your last letter about, I am not able at this present time to give an answer. About the cow, I never saw her. I have seen Mr. York since, and all that he could tell, was that she was a good cow for milk. How much she gave at the times you wished to know, he could not tell. So I cant inform you anything for certainty about her, but if you dont like her, perhaps by next summer or Fall I can suit you better. Money in this part is very scarce, produce of all kinds low, not hardly worth carrying so far to market so as to get only six cents for pork and beef. Very low, also, is butter, and cheese: likewise there is strong talk of war, here, so that our Merchants won't give anything for produce. It is bad for those that owe, at this time, as nothing commands the Money with us except at a low rate and people are not willing to sell. They are waiting for better times. They think this War Talk is a Merchant's plan, so as to get all kinds of produce low this year, as most certainly they will. . . . Tell Mrs. Spalding I have a fine turkey for Christmas. Tell her to come and take supper, for there is no snow here at present, so that we cant come there. SILAS SPALDING.

December 16, 1807 — N.B. I did not put Cornish to the Date, and so, I think I shant."

Dr. Smith's opening letter for 1808 tells us of his Legislative campaign against quackery started in the previous year before the State Medical Society by Dr. Spalding.

"Hanover, Jan'y. 24, 1808. Dear Sir: Mr. Will'm Graves[1] an honest and worthy young man who has been some time in the

[1] Dr. William Graves practiced in Epping, New Hampshire. The Records of the State Medical Society show that he was once reprimanded by the President for going to a consultation three hours before the time appointed, and doing his best to "steal" the case from the other doctor.

study of medicine with me, will hand you this. I wish you to inform him (or write me on the subject) when the next annual meeting of the New Hampshire Medical Society will be holden, and where, I have an intention to attend if possible. I intend to renew the effort to obtain an Act of Legislature to discourage quackery. You know I am not easily beat down in my projects, and tho' sometimes slow in execution, yet keep the object in view. The business was not properly managed this year. I was out of town when the question was tried, and I am confident that more than half of the members did not understand the matter. Several of the members have solicited me to renew the application. I shall attend the Court solely on medical purposes at their next session; I am with sentiments of esteem, Yours Sincerely, NATHAN SMITH."

When Dr. Spalding was a student at Harvard he made the acquaintance of Dr. John C. Warren, and various letters in their correspondence show a life long friendship. Here is a scrap of paper undated.

"As I was prevented from awaiting your return to see me, I write to tell you that I am very desirous of the pleasure of seeing you before you leave town. Therefore, I will ask you the favor to meet me at White's Apothecary Shop at 1/2 past One. The place I have mentioned, I have particular reasons for fixing on, as you will discover there. J. C. WARREN."[1]

After editing the Massachusetts Pharmacopoeia, Dr. Warren sent a Presentation Copy to his friend in Portsmouth, and with it this note.

"Boston, Feb. 12, 1808. Dear Sir: Your distinguished attention to medical science has induced me to beg the favor of your accepting a copy of the Massachusetts Pharmacopeia. Should you, on examination, be pleased with it, you may think proper to make it known to your booksellers in Portsmouth that its usefulness may be extended.

I have the honor to be, with esteem, your H'mble Serv't. JOHN C. WARREN."

[1] Dr. John Collins Warren (1778–1856) the writer of this note, the subject of which we should be glad to discover, went abroad soon after graduating from Harvard, and returning in 1802 took up his Father's practice, and was for years the leader in Boston Surgery. He helped to bring the Medical School from Cambridge to Boston, to found the Massachusetts General Hospital, and to establish the New England Medical and Surgical Journal. He operated far and wide over New England and practiced even into the days of Ether. A hard worker, a straightforward writer, and a steady friend to all of his colleagues, Warren's reputation as a great man was deserved.

This very copy Dr. Spalding not only showed to booksellers in Portsmouth, but proudly carried it to the next annual Meeting of the State Medical Society, where he recommended it as the best and only standard for the compounding of drugs.

Early in February, 1808, the country was startled by the news of a meteor falling in Connecticut, and Dr. Spalding must have written to Professor Silliman of New Haven, asking for a fragment, as the appended letter suggests.[1]

"Yale College, March 4, 1808. Dear Sir: Agreably to your request in the letter which you have done me the honor to write, I enclose a very small fragment of the meteor. You, as a Chemist, will judge of its value more from the genuineness than from its magnitude. I regret that the numerous demands on our small collection do not admit of more liberality, especially to one actuated by a love of science, and having really a well founded claim arising from your former official pursuits. We have distributed most of our larger specimens in various parts of America, and Europe, and we have very few left except such portions as I send you. The pamphlets which you have been so good as to send I have not yet received, but beg you to accept my thanks for them. I must apologize for my conciseness and haste, as I write in momentary expectation of being interrupted by company from whom I may not be disengaged before the mail closes.

I am Sir, with the expression of my respects, and all proper acknowledgements for the obliging things contained in your letter and in much haste, Your Very Obedient Servant, B. SILLIMAN.

N.B. One of the pieces has a part of the crust upon it."

The current number of the "Repository" printed a paper stating that Chester, Vermont, was filled with "Swollen Necked Females" (Goiter). Although Dr. Spalding was familiar with the town, he had never heard of such cases, and wrote to Dr. Hedge concerning them. Dr. Hedge replied that of the 2000 people of his acquaintance, he had never seen a dozen cases. He mentioned of these a few and then continues. "Tuberculosis has got its hold on me.

[1] Benjamin Silliman (1779–1864) was graduated at Yale and studied law, but soon decided that he liked Chemistry better, and that he wanted to lecture on that topic at his Alma Mater. He obtained the coveted Chair in 1808, and lectured on Chemistry everywhere. People flocked to hear him talk and to witness his beautifully successful experiments. He founded "The American Journal of Arts and Sciences," was honored all over the world, and deserved abundantly his reputation as an accomplished, graceful and popular lecturer and Chemist.

The only relief I can get from severe spells of coughing is to go to a Turning shop here, and exercise at the wheel until a powerful perspiration is excited, after which I feel better for a while. Would a sea voyage do me any good, do you think? — A. HEDGE."

The "aneurism" mentioned in the next arriving letter from Dr. Smith was seen in consultation at Wells, Maine, by Dr. Spalding who operated and wrote a detailed account of the case. When opened, the aneurism was found to contain an organized blood clot.

"Hanover, April 22, 1808. Dear Sir: I received your favor a few days since giving an account of a very singular case of aneurism. There is one circumstance you neglected to mention and that is: whether there was a pulsation in the tumor previous to the operation; if not, perhaps the circulation might have taken another course, previous to the application of the tourniquet. I should like to know the ultimate result of the operation. I have determined to attend the next meeting of the New Hampshire Medical Society at Exeter, where you may expect to see me if my health continues. Mr. Graves whom I mentioned to you in a former letter will hand you this, and the bloodroot which he neglected or forgot before. Yours Sincerely. NATHAN SMITH."

In agreement with this letter Dr. Smith went to Exeter, then visited Dr. and Mrs. Spalding at Portsmouth, and on arriving at Concord on his way home wrote them this trifle.

"Concord, June 22, 1808. Sir: When I was at Portsmouth I lost or left an umbrella. Whether I took it from the Chaise at your house, and left it there, or whether it went with the Chaise to the Stable I do not know. I wish you to inquire and if you find it, please to send it to Solomon, of Concord, to be by him forwarded to Hanover to me. I have proffered my petition, and have leave to bring in a Bill, which we have no doubt will pass. The Bill will provide for the building of a Building 60 by 35, 2 stories high,[1] which will answer our purposes very well. I am, with sentiments of esteem both for you and Mrs. Spalding. your Friend, NATHAN SMITH."

Hardly had Dr. Smith reached Hanover than he received from Dr. Spalding a letter concerning a Lay Reader for St. John's Parish.

[1] This Building was the Medical School Building at Hanover, but the money was not, I think, at this time obtained.

Now I have to insert his interesting answer.

"July 21, 1808. Hanover. Dear Sir: I received your favor respecting a suitable person to fill the desk in St. John's Church, and agreably to your request conferred with the Hon'ble President on the subject. We agreed to recommend Mr. Chadbourne,[1] whom I conclude has before this called on you with the President's letter in his favor. I think Mr. Chadbourne is a promising character and will be more likely to answer the expectations of your people than any young gentleman of my acquaintance. I conclude his mind has not been tainted with the doctrine of Fatalism. (alias Hopkinsism).[2] I have written Mr. Chadbourne asking him to be sober minded and of a grave deportment, zealous for the honour and good of the Church and the cause of pure and undefiled religion. I mean that religion which makes men happy here and wise unto Salvation hereafter, such as came down from Heaven, aforetime. If he should prosper in good work, and, become honoured among your people I shall rejoice exceedingly. If not, I shall be very sorrowful. I am greatly obliged to you for your attention in procuring the books for me. I have received the 2d Volume; With much good will, NATHAN SMITH.

N.B. I was absent when Mr. Chadbourne left this place, or I should have written by him. I have directed my letter to Mr. Chadbourne at Portsmouth. If he should not be with you, please to give him notice of it."

The following letter from Dr. Perkins mentions two old friends of Dr. Spalding.

"Boston, 22nd, 1808. My Good Friend: I have made inquiry of our little judge, Dawes,[3] concerning the property of (the man you mention), but the judge who was acquainted with all the circumstances, in his private life as well as public capacity, informs me that he died absolutely and literally PENNYLESS!! and that the good old Doctor has been the sole dependence of that family for support ever since they were left. I should not trouble

[1] Isaac Rollins Chadbourne (1787–1855) was from South Berwick and Kennebunk, Maine, and had just graduated with high honors at Dartmouth. He declined the Call, studied law and practiced his profession very keenly and untheologically at Eastport, Maine, the rest of his life.

[2] "Hopkinsism" was Eternity-and Damnation-Calvinism, as long since forgotten as its discoverer, Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803) who flourished at Newport, Rhode Island.

[3] Judge Dawes (1756–1825) was at that time on the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts.

Dr. Lloyd[1] with any interrogations on the subject, as probably it may not be a pleasant topic of conversation to the old gentleman.

To your CHARGE of passing through Portsmouth "LIKE A COMET" or like anything else, I plead not guilty. I have not been within forty miles of Portsmouth since I saw you, and know no reason why you should suspeet it unless you supposed all Boston was on the way to Portland a few weeks ago, and of course, I among the rest.

I am Dear Sir; Yours Cordially, C. PERKINS."

[1] Dr. James Lloyd (1738–1810) now eighty years of age was highly esteemed in Boston. After graduating from Harvard he studied with John Hunter and was for years regarded as the most skilful obstetrician in Boston. Proud of his skill in delivering women, he was prouder still of his ability to drive the fastest and finest horses in Boston.

CHAPTER XI.

LETTERS TO BARON ALIBERT, AND THE BELLS IN 1808. VISIT TO DARTMOUTH AS DEMONSTRATOR FOR DR. ALEXANDER RAMSAY.

ALTHOUGH Dr. Spalding had failed with his Edition of Willan, he continued his studies in cutaneous diseases, and wrote to Baron Alibert of Paris,[1] well known at this time for his "Treatise on Diseases of the Skin." Dr. Spalding may have planned in this way to establish a foreign correspondence and publish a translation of the new Treatise.

"Portsmouth, New Hampshire: United States. July 28, 1808. Sir: My friend, Mr. Cazeaux[2] has been so polite as to give me a letter of introduction to you. It is my wish, Sir, to establish a medical correspondence with some Gentleman of the Faculty in Paris, in order that we may be benefited by the other's communications on the Discoveries, Improvements and Reforms in Medical Science, which in this country stand much in need of the older and more scientific Countries. I enclose with this letter of introduction, some copies of my Bills of Mortality for the past eight years, which is all the numbers that have been published; my Graduating Thesis, a "Nomenclature of Chemistry," and a Newspaper containing a singular account of the conversion of a human body into adipocere.[3] Be pleased Sir, to accept these, not from

[1] Baron Jean Louis Alibert (1776–1837) came from the Provinces to Paris when very young, and soon obtained a position in the Hospital St. Louis, where he devoted much care to diseases of the skin. His set of magnificent cutaneous plates made him well known, and he became Dermatologist to Louis XVIII.

Alibert wrote elegantly on tuberculosis and leprosy, but his descriptions were vague. As a Professor he lacked gravity, but with a charming voice he unfolded picturesque descriptions of disease. As a clinical improviser he was unequalled. He entertained profusely: with a private Theatre and Sunday Breakfasts, receiving his friends of both sexes in rooms that were gorgeous with highly tinted butterflies, humming birds, and colored illustrations of skin diseases intermingled.

[2] Mr. Cazeaux was French Consul at Portsmouth.

[3] The paper on Adipocere by Dr. Spalding refers to the Case of a man who was drowned near Portsmouth in March, 1807. When the body was recovered in March, 1808, it was found to be changed into a substance resembling spermaceti.

their intrinsic merit, but from their being all that I have to offer you, medically, at this time.

With sentiments of the Highest Esteem. LYMAN SPALDING."

If Baron Alibert replied, his letter has been lost, but that he sent one of his Works and that Dr. Spalding began to translate it, is shown by some pages of MSS in my possession.

The most interesting friendship in Dr. Spalding's career was that with Dr. Alexander Ramsay (1754–1824) one of the world's most famous anatomists, who was born in Edinburgh and died in Parsonsfield, Maine. After obtaining his degree he established a School of Anatomy in Edinburgh, but quarrelled with his colleagues and came to America where he lectured in various Cities about 1804. He then went back to London and Edinburgh and after obtaining an honorary degree at St. Andrew's in 1805, (the diploma rests now in the Maine Historical Library in Portland), he came a second time to America about 1808. After a while he set off again for Edinburgh, and remained there and in Dublin until 1813, when I find him lecturing on Anatomy and Natural History in New York, and Charleston, South Carolina. He had previously established at Fryeburg, Maine, a School of Medical Instruction from which several students were graduated, and which he again continued from this time until his death. He was a skilful anatomist and made engravings of Preparations with his own hands. His skill was wonderful, but his temper was venomous, and he suffered from some personal deformity due to an unfortunate fall in childhood. His great medical idea was cold affusions in Fever, and, when himself dying from typhoid, he insisted on the use of such treatment. This eccentric man exercised much influence upon the career of Dr. Spalding as we shall later see.

It happened now that Dr. Ramsay, being in America, wandered to Hanover, and was engaged by Dr. Smith for a course of Anatomical Lectures. Knowing Dr. Spalding's keenness for anatomy Dr. Smith wrote to him to this effect.

"Hanover, Sept. 22, 1808. Dear Sir: You will see by the advertisement with which I am troubling you, what I am doing for Dartmouth College. I have, at great expense, engaged Dr. Ramsay the greatest anatomist in the world to give a complete Course of Lectures on Anatomy and Physiology, to instruct in the art of dis-

secting, making anatomical preparations, etc. I am very confident that our ensuing course will far exceed anything of the kind before attempted in New England, Therefore, if you have any young friends in the medical line be so kind as to send them as soon as possible. I wish you to see the following advertisement published two weeks in your Portsmouth paper. I shall be in Portsmouth this winter and will then settle with the printer, etc. With respect, yours, etc., NATHAN SMITH."

There then follows on the same sheet a long advertisement in Dr. Smith's handwriting to the effect that Dr. Ramsay is a wonder, that he will give a Two months course; that he will bring from Fryeburg his anatomical museum intact; that the smartest students will be admitted to the private closet of Doctors Smith and Ramsay, as assistants in completing a Museum for Dr. Smith and that; To the Gentleman who shall produce the best dissections of the Organs of Vision, Hearing, Brain and Heart, Dr. Ramsay will bestow a Gold Medal, to be adjudged by Dr. Smith.

Dr. Spalding inserted the advertisement in the papers, and wrote in behalf of Mr. Taft, one of his pupils.

To this Dr. Smith replied as follows:

"Hanover, Oct. 9, 1808. Dear Sir: You may inform Mr. Taft that Dr. Ramsay is in my opinon the best Anatomist in the United States. I have seen his anatomical preparations, and have heard him lecture. You may also inform him, that Dr. Ramsay will not commence his Lectures till about the Tenth or Twelfth of Nov'r next, and if it should so happen that a number of students should apply after the lectures have advanced a few days, I will engage that they shall be repeated to them. The whole of my lectures on Surgery and Physic will be delivered after the 15th of Nov., so that should they come at the time you propose, they will have the benefit of the whole of our course, except Chemistry.

I wrote you before, that what I had undertaken this year would require the assistance of all my friends, and I must now make one more requisition on you. The plan we have chalked out to make me a complete Museum will require a number of subjects, therefore, I wish, if possible, that you would lay by a few for me. An infant with the placenta attached would be very agreeable. A child from six to ten or from ten to 18 would be very useful, or an adult subject, would not come amiss. If any of this kind of gentry can be obtained you can preserve them very easily by opening the cavities and immersing in new rum; just turn down the scalp and saw out a piece of the skull on one side, so as to admit the spirit, and so with the other cavities.

I will cheerfully pay you for any expense you may incur by the business. Perhaps you can engage Dr. Cutter and other physicians who would willingly oblige you and me to lend you some assistance.

If so that I could obtain those things, I would send to Portsmouth for that purpose. We shall want them through Nov. and Dec. and January, as we propose to drive a stroke of business in that line; and I am with sentiments of Esteem, and Respect your Friend, etc., NATHAN SMITH."

A second letter continues the topic.

"Hanover, Nov'r 8, 1808. Dear Sir: I rec'd your letter with the specimen of Virgin Sulphur, which I consider as very valuable. It happened to arrive at the right moment just as I was treating that subject before my class.

Dr. Ramsay arrived here last week, and as we had some stuff on hand has already made us several very valuable preparations. He will commence his Course on Thursday next, but will not get much engaged till the beginning of next week. At any time after that, you cannot come amiss for your own advantage. Dr. Ramsay has a very extensive and useful collection of anatomical preparations which will exceed your expectations. You will also be highly pleased with his mode of teaching. If you could so contrive as to bring with you a subject, it would be very important to us at this time. Dr. Ram'y makes the most of everything, and it will enable us to make the present course more perfect as well as contribute to our intended Museum, from which you may, at some future period be supplied with such preparations as will be important to you. We shall commence a new era of anatomy at this time, and after being instructed in the best method of dissecting, and preserving preparations, shall go on improving our stock, and if you will contribute raw material we will, whenever we have duplicates, give you them, in preference to any other person. With sentiments of esteem, Your Friend NATHAN SMITH.

P.S. Our present No. of students exceed sixty, besides the students of the College, and we are daily adding thereto, such as shall be saved."

Before this letter arrived, Dr. Spalding with his two scholars, Mr. Taft[1] and Mr. Langdon,[2] went to Hanover,

[1] Mr. Charles Taft was a favorite scholar of Dr. Spalding's and after teaching and studying medicine obtained his degree of M.B. from Dartmouth in 1811. Dartmouth University, also gave him a degree of M.D. in 1817. As we shall see from his letters, he practiced in Nixonton, North Carolina, and died in 1823.

[2] William Eustis Langdon (1793–1826) was a grandson of Hon. Woodbury Langdon, who built the Rockingham House at Portsmouth for the great sum, for those days, of $30,000 in gold, and also a grandson

leaving his practice in the charge of Dr. James Harvey Pierrepont[1] (1768–1839).

Soon after his arrival in Hanover, Dr. Spalding wrote to Dr. Pierrepont and I now insert his reply.

"Portsmouth, Nov. 24, 1808. Friend Spalding: What an hyperbolic description of the uncouth hast thou presented me.[2] Is it possible that thou hast certainly met with this phenomenon, so humorously, so wittily, and so energetically described? It must be so. You are a scientific philosopher, and will not poetically deviate from natural laws. I am pleased that you speak in terms so meritorious, and that at present conjecture, you are gratified with your journey. I observe that you are a little disposed to eke out the whole period of Lecturing with Dr. R., and so I must risk living another season. Very well, I am sensible, friends must be indulged sometimes. Your patients have generally recovered, Jeffries Excepted,[3] who is yet delirious and will take nothing. He is really a pitiful object. Today I think to visit Little Harbor, which, asking pardon, I had like never to have recollected. Your customers do not fatigue me very much. Your friend has now two shares in the Healing Art, and horrible to relate has as much time for worse purposes as he pleases. Our friend Dr. Jackson has at length paid the great debt, expiring with that tranquil and placid temper peculiar to him. He was unconscious of a wilful error, and a man feeling that kind of innocence; what has he to dread! The exquisite and beautiful description of Horace, of such a man is only true and natural.

of the Hon. (and Dr.) William Eustis, Governor of Massachusetts and Secretary of War. Dr. Langdon studied medicine with Dr. Spalding, was graduated at Harvard, and practiced in Portsmouth. In 1822 he was appointed Assistant Surgeon in the Army, but soon retired owing to poor health, and dying in New York was buried beside St. Mark's in the Bowery.

Dr. William Eustis, I may add, was very intimate with Dr. Spalding, and after a consultation with him, when he visited Portsmouth, officially, Dr. Spalding reported "A Case of Floating Cartilages in the Knee Joint," and mentioned Dr. Eustis as consultant.

[1] After graduating from Harvard, Mr. Pierrepont hovered long between Theology and Medicine, but finally studied medicine with Dr. Marshall Spring of Watertown, Massachusetts. He practiced first in Eliot, Maine, but moved to Portsmouth in 1801, where he obtained a high position in the community, as an affable, urbane, social, family doctor. He loved medicine, hated obstetrics and surgery, and in his leisure hours was immensely fond of Latin and Greek authors.

[2] "The Uncouth" was a case of transposition of the Thoracic and abdominal viscera, observed during a dissection.

[3] "Jeffries" was a member of a well known Portsmouth Family, ater known as the Jaffreys.

We succeeded in obtaining leave to open the chest and there we discovered the Heart and its vessels in a perfectly healthy condition, but the lungs were most astonishingly diseased, every part of their superficies strongly adherent, and the internal structure had assumed as much of the schirrous condition as their nature is susceptible of. The liver was pronounced healthy by our Brothers, but I believe thay have in some measure forgotten the appearance of a healthy liver. . . . Is it not singular that such a degree of disease should establish itself with so little pain, and with a warning so mild and unsuspicious? I am now of opinion that a chronic inflamation may exist in certain parts without the sensation of pain. I wish you to ponder on the state of our friend. Please to recollect all his essential and evident symptoms if possible, so that when in conversation we may observe physiological laws as far as possible. . . . Please to write soon, for I assure you I feel some interest in our friendly intercourse. With Esteem, JAMES H. PIERREPONT.

P.S. I am a little interrupted, or I should have vexed you with a longer letter for I felt it in me so to do."

So many students attended the Course given by Dr. Ramsay, that subjects became rare in spite of those that Dr. Spalding had brought from Portsmouth and he consequently wrote to ask the aid of Dr. Ricketson in this matter and received from him an amusing reply: amusing for its suggestions regarding the sale of his own works.

"New York, 12 Mo., 9th, 1808. Dear Doctor: Thine dated Nov'r, I rec'd, but various causes conspired to prevent me from replying earlier to it; amongst which is a late severe attack of the Quinsey from which I have not yet recovered. I have inquired for an injected subject, but do not find any to be procured in this City. I believe there are very few whole subjects prepared here. I have also inquired for an injecting Apparatus, but have not found any already made, though I have heard of a person here who makes them. I have not heard of the Maker himself, the price, but I think otherwise, about $20. Understanding by Bache,[1] that information on this particular has gone forward to thee, I judge it needless to say more on it.

Not finding Jackson [2] at Robinson's, I shall probably send this p'r mail with my "History of Influenza," which is succinct, but the sooner read, and therefore clear, I trust, of one of the faults of many publicat's of the present day.

[1] Bache was a leading druggist in New York.

[2] John Jackson, Dr. Spalding's cousin, was in Robinson's office. If he happened to be going to Portsmouth for Christmas, he could save Dr. Ricketson postage on his letter.

I ask thy continued and renewed attention to promote the diffusion and sale of my "Book on Health," of which several eminent Med. Characters, have spoken favorably, among whom is D'r A. Fothergill[1] now of Phil'a.

As I published a large Edition (with Subscript's) and may publish another, I wish the former may be got off of hand as soon as may be, and the more I have seen of Books and Bookselling, the more I am convinced that their introduction, diffusion and sale depend much on the exertions of Booksellers and others who may take an active and persever'g part in the business.

Sinclair's "Code of Health and Longevity"[2] is now published in 4 vols. 8vo, price about $20, cont'g much information on the subject, but all not equally interest'g or practical. It is quite too large and expensive for general use, especially in this Country where cheapness is one lead'g object in popular works.

The publication of a new work is announced, entitled, "The Med. and Philosophical Journal and Review," by an Associat'n of Gentlemen in diff't parts of the United States, to be printed in semi-annual numbers by Sword.[3]

I wish Thee to confer with thy Bookseller, there, having my Books, and if not sold to essay some new exertions for their disposal. Remaining willingly to serve thee in anything here, I am thy Friend, Sh. Ricketson."

As I proceed with this book the more difficult it becomes for me to imagine what my grandfather wrote to his correspondents, and I am glad at this juncture to find an autograph copy of a letter to John Bell.[4]

[1] Anthony Fothergill (1735–1813) obtained his doctorate at Edinburgh, and practiced for some years in London. He then retired and removed to Philadelphia in 1803, but the War of 1812 drove him back again to England. He wrote an essay "On American Mineral Waters," and "On the Apparently Drowned," and left money to various Philadelphia Charities.

[2] Sir John Sinclair (1754–1835) was a disputatious political writer, always at swords points with Sir William Pitt. Sinclair wanted peace at any price, and would even cede Gibraltar for peace. He finally settled his differences with the Government by accepting a sinecure with a handsome salary. He then travelled extensively, and at his death was entombed in Holyrood. He wrote many papers on agriculture, and his "Code of Health" in spite of its four volumes and high price had a wide circulation at home and abroad.

[3] The New Journal, intended as a rival to the "Repository," did not last very long, but contained interesting pictures of New York Hospitals.

[4] John Bell (1763–1820) obtained his degree at Edinburgh in 1780, and established a medical school in which he boldly attacked the

"Portsmouth, February 6, 1809. Sir: From the great improvement which I have received from the perusal of your "Surgery" and particularly from the new doctrinal ideas on Aneurism, I have been induced to send you my "Report on a Case of Aneurism" which I lately had the honour to read before the Eastern New Hampshire, Medical Society. I have also in preparation an Aneurismal Aorta, nearly as large as a man's right arm, and when it is finished, I will give you a description of it and its concomitant Case. Be pleased also, to accept my Bills of Mortality for this town for the past two years.

Dr. Alexander Ramsay of your city, as he claims, has been in this country lecturing on Anatomy, and publicly laying claim to many of the most important discoveries of Anatomy. I shall be pleased to learn of his reputation from you. With Great Respect to you, for your many and great Improvements in Anatomy and Surgery, I am Sir, your obedient Servant, LYMAN SPALDING."

Dr. Mitchill's first letter for 1809 throws light on American medical literature.

"Washington, Feb. 11, 1809. Dear Sir: Sam'l Mitchill presents his compliments to Dr. Spalding, and returns thanks for copies of his medical pamphlets. Consumption, he sees, alas, still continues its alarming ravages. Almost one-fifth are cut off by that dreadful disease in New Hampshire as in New York.

Since I left N. Y., for Washington, for the winter, a New Periodical has made its appearance. I agree with you, that the setting up of another journal like the "Repository" is injudicious. It would have been better to buy the materials, patent, and influences that are employed in its support, to aid the circulation of the "Repository." However, as you know, men are fond of making experiments and of trying their strength. All that I have farther to say, is, that they must try for themselves, and if they find the Editorship of a "Medico-Philosophical Journal" after eleven years as unprofitable as I have done with the "Repository," they must have something more than pay for their labors to stimulate their exertions. Both Dr. Edward Miller and myself have worked for absolutely NOTHING, and found ourselves, during the whole time that we have conducted our periodical

stereotyped methods of the day. His brilliant and fascinating style soon brought him many scholars. His "Anatomy" obtained a great vogue and for twenty years he was leading surgeon in Scotland.

His "Surgery" had just been printed at the time of Dr. Spalding's letter. Personally, he was undersized, impetuous, energetic, and beautifully groomed.

His brilliant career was brought to an early close by a fall from horse back.

publication. We furthermore have not derived one cent of profit from it. With Esteem, S. L. MITCHILL."

A letter from Dr. Smith arrived also at this same time.

"Hanover, Feb. 12, 1809. Dear Sir: I received your favor and your specimen of Arsenic by Mr. Chadbourn. I believe we have a small specimen of Bismuth and Antimony, but if you can easily procure some of both, we should be glad to have them. I am very happy to hear of your success in procuring an Anatomical Museum. I hope that your example will be followed by others, and that I shall live to see the dearth of anatomical and surgical knowledge which has so long hung over our land done away, and those who undertake the cure of disease, instead of being the tormentors of the unfortunate and the afflictors of the afflicted, become the benefactors of Mankind, and justify the gratitude of succeeding generations.

I have found a plan for my future proceeding as relates to Chemistry, which is to procure sixty boxes, and in those boxes to put all the preparations in complete readiness to perform 60 lectures, which shall comprise my next course on that branch. This I can cause to be done by my pupils, which will be a kindness to them, and will abridge my labours very much.

I shall make every exertion for a grant from the State to build a House for medical purposes. Shall meet you at the next annual meeting of the Medical Society, at Exeter. With Sentiments of Esteem, Your Friend, NATHAN SMITH."

Early in this year, Dr. Spalding learned that the Soda Water fountain which he had personally made, and used in his practice, but had failed to patent, had now been patented by others and that infringements would be prosecuted. Two of his letters to the Hawkins brothers, of Philadelphia, patentees, have been preserved, and may be inserted here much condensed.

"Portsmouth, March 1, 1809. Dear Sirs: I observed in the "Aurora" that you have a patent for manufacturing mineral waters. This was the first knowledge that I had of the affair being patented; Although not disposed to infringe the laws, I take the liberty to state to you that ten years ago when I had the honor to teach Chemistry at Dartmouth, I manufactured mineral waters in my own way after North's apparatus had been destroyed by the cold. The water was charged with gas by means of a force pump, screwed into a cask. This is, however, inconvenient, since the pump has to be removed every time that the cask is agitated. But since I returned from Dartmouth in 1808, I have invented a

JOINT, which will permit the cask to be turned for agitation, yet let the pump remain attached.

If any part of my process could advantage you or any other fellow mortal one cent, a special description is at your service. I have never made an object of manufacturing Mineral Waters, believing that the journey and the Company at the Watering Places is of more consequence to the patient than the waters. But, I know that there are many fools who would rather pay for artificial waters, than to drink such as the God of Nature has supplied to them in abundance. If your process is better than mine, I shall have no objection to learn your terms, and if your process is as much better as the price demanded, I shall have no objection to treat with you, always wishing to use the best means in my power, for the help of my patients. LYMAN SPALDING."

In a second letter he describes his method of making carbonic acid gas, conveying it through a set of bladders, and then pumping it into a hooped barrel kept constantly agitated.

"This process has answered my purposes fully, but if yours is better, I will try it. Before that, I must see your design and if it seems better I will pay what is proper. Or, you can set me up one of your Founts and be paid from the first money received. I rather expect to move to Boston, and I should like to include Rights to use the Fount in Massachusetts, but I am sure that the sum you demand for Rights in New Hampshire is too large, because there are only two places, Portsmouth and Hanover, which could support the cost of putting it up. L. S."

Whilst this discussion was going on, Dr. Spalding planned to raise native opium. In order to be sure of his poppy seeds he wrote to his friend Professor Peck who sent some seeds, which being planted and the proper processes carried out, Dr. Spalding was able to exhibit Portsmouth-raised Opium at a medical meeting in the autumn.

About this same time Dr. Richard Hazeltine (1786–1831)[1] sent a friendly note.

"Berwick, April 28, 1809. Dear Sir: I herewith forward to you the Vol, which you were so kind as to lend me, and should have returned it before, but have entertained a hope that I should be in Portsmouth and deliver it myself. Since I saw you, I have

[1] Dr. Hazeltine, was an early writer on Medicine in New Hampshire and Maine. In one of his papers he refers epidemics, to tempestuous weather, and in another he speaks of a snow storm in 1807, lasting an entire week, and followed with much sickness.

shown the blank scheme of medical cases to several physicians who unanimously concur in the opinion that the one which I showed you would be most convenient. And I should now propose to you without further delay to share the expense with you and employ Mr. Sewall [1] to strike off some hundred copies were it not that I expect shortly to see some other printer with whom I intend to converse on the subject. I must therefore beg, that the business so far as respects myself may be suspended for the present. . . . I have for two years last past received your Bills of Mortality, and confess I feel more pleasurable sensations from such trifling notices of attention, than I will attempt to express. Permit me to assure you I feel very grateful for them, and hope I may be so fortunate as to be one among those whom you may think proper to direct them in future. Your Ob'd't and Humble Serv't RICHARD HAZELTINE."

The appended note from John Vaughan of Philadelphia throws light on Dr. Spalding's studies.

"Philadelphia 20, April 1809. Dear Sir: I am sorry indeed, of your having to abandon the publication of your edition of Willan owing to difficulties with the colored plates.

Being called upon by others to obtain a Set of our Philosophical Transactions, I have agreeably to your request also been able to obtain a Set for you at the price of $20.50. You could not, I think, have procured a complete Set except by my means. Your Bill of Mortality for 1808 I presented to our Society, who are much obliged by your attention. Your kind promise relative to Philosophical Information will be of use to us. I remain Your Friend, etc., JN. VAUGHAN."

We have already seen a letter from Dr. Spalding to John Bell, but as no answer came another was sent to his brother Charles;[2] and reads in this way from a copy in my possession.

[1] "Mr. Sewall" was Mr. Stephen Sewall of Kennebunk, a printer and antiquarian.

[2] Although Sir Charles Bell's reply has not been preserved, the following Note, concerning him may here find place.

Charles Bell (1774–1842) was a wonder in Medicine and Surgery, who published his famous "System of Dissections" when he was 25, followed it up with his epoch-making studies on the Nerves, and wrote his marvelous work on "The Hand" when still a young man. He drew beautifully and operated rapidly; performing a lithotomy, it is said, in 3 minutes and 16 seconds. The French anatomists loved him dearly, and always made much of "Sharley" Bell, whenever he visited Paris. Dr. Spalding mentions his "Operative Surgery" when he should have said "Comparative Surgery."

"Portsmouth, N. H., U. S. America, May 10, 1809. Sir: I have this moment read in your "System of Operative Surgery," that although you know of no instance of a spontaneous cure of an aneurism, yet in your opinion, there is a possibility of its occurring. I am now happy to have it in my power, Sir, to state that I have seen a spontaneous cure of an aneurism of the Femoral Artery, which in symptoms and appearances most exactly corresponds with what you say, may happen. This, more than ever, convinces me that your inferences are drawn from anatomical researches, and that your "System" is actually founded on the basis of true anatomy. What greater evidence can be given of a perfect knowledge of anatomy and physiology, than from these sources to predict that a spontaneous cure of an aneurism may take place, although an instance was never known, and yet, eventually an instance should occur in which the prediction, with all its concomitants, is most justly verified.

This Case came under my inspection in April of last year, and in March last I communicated with your brother Mr. John Bell, by the way of Halifax, the only route which was then open. But as that is a very circuitous one, the letter may have miscarried. If it has not arrived, you will do me the honor to advise me thereof, and I will instantly transmit a copy of my Pamphlet on the subject to you. Your Obedient and very Humble Servant, L. SPALDING."

Dr. Smith had promised to attend the Medical Meeting at Exeter this year, and in order to remind him of the approaching day, Dr. Spalding wrote to that effect, and made other inquiries to which he received this answer.

"Hanover, May 21, 1809. Dear Sir: I have received your letter respecting my intended application to the Legislature. I propose to make it in this manner, viz: that I will procure a Deed to the State of a parcel of land sufficient to place the building on, to be the property of the State forever, for that purpose: that the Building shall be built at the expense of the State, and remain the property of the State forever, under the inspection and control of some Board, whom the Legislature may appoint, to be used and employed for Medical and Experimental Philosophy. I suppose that about ten thousand dollars, would be sufficient to build the House and furnish the necessary Library, Apparatus, etc. I have high expectations that something will be done for me, which will be important to the interests of Medical Science, as I have the assurance of many members of the House of Representatives in my favor.

I am with High Esteem, etc., NATHAN SMITH."

This money may have been appropriated at this time, but the Building was not occupied until 1811. Dr. Smith at-

tended the Meeting at Exeter, was elected Vice President and nominated on a Committee on Mineral Waters, with Dr. Spalding.

I have before mentioned that Dr. Spalding presented to Congress in 1802 his Claim against the Government for services to workmen at Fort Constitution, but was not then paid. After waiting patiently, he wrote this year to his friend from Walpole, John Curtis Chamberlain, M.C. (1772–1834) and received the two following notes.

"Washington, 11 June, 1809. Dear Sir: The Post Road to Charlestown is now before the Committee; this session will be short, and perhaps the consideration of it will be deferred until next.

Your business in the hands of Dr. Durrell I am unacquainted with. You must inform me what it was, and where to be found before I can render you any services. From present appearances this session will close in ten days. There appears to be a spirit of conciliation in Congress which I hope will be of service to the people. Your Friend, J. C. CHAMBERLAIN."

Later on he wrote again.

"Washington City, 9th, Dec. 1809. Dear Sir: I received your letter dated at Philadelphia, and immediately examined the Clerk's Files and found your claim and vouchers. It is referred to the Committee of Claims. I think your vouchers sufficient, but I doubt whether your claim will be considered of the kind which Government ought to pay. On this point I will give no explicit opinion, but advise you to prepare your mind to hear of its inadmissibility.

Yours with esteem, JOHN C. CHAMBERLAIN."

The readers of these letters must already have perceived, that Dr. Spalding was an unusually clever physician, and they may have thought that he must by this time be chafing at his confinement in so small a place as Portsmouth. In a letter concerning his Soda Fountain, we saw that he was planning to settle in Boston. It is evident, however, that he could not feel sure of success in any new field without further instruction. Having at this juncture lately met Dr. Ramsay at Hanover, it is probable from conversations with him that he now meditated a voyage to Europe. Yet when he considered this plan, he saw that his income was too small to maintain his wife and children during his absence, and money was hard to borrow owing to dread of war with

England, so that the only way in which the voyage could be obtained lay in some Governmental appointment. Just what his plans now turned out to be, we read in "A Memorial," at this time forwarded to Washington.

"To the Honorable Robert Smith, Esq. Secretary of State:[1] The undersigned humbly showeth that for fifteen years last past he has made the study of the various branches of Medical Science his sole object, that he has visited some of the most celebrated medical Schools in the United States, and has publicly taught medicine in Dartmouth University for a part of the above mentioned period.

That he has wholly in view, the improvement of himself in Medical Science, that he may thereby be better enabled to instruct others and alleviate human ills. That medical Science, particularly Anatomy and Chemistry have been brought to greater perfection in France than in any other part of the world, and that the present relation of our Government with the European powers does not readily admit of a passage thither; the undersigned for these and other good reasons requests the favor of being employed as a public MESSENGER to our Minister in France, to enable him there to pursue his favorite studies of Anatomy and Chemistry under the most celebrated Professors in the world, and as in duty bound, shall ever pray. LYMAN SPALDING.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 25, 1809."

This petition was accompanied with an autograph letter of John Wheelock; also signed by Nathan Smith; and reads as follows:

"This certifies that the bearer, Dr. Lyman Spalding, a citizen of this State is a gentleman of talents, pure moral character, and reputable connexions. He has long applied himself in the pursuits of science, and more particularly devoted his attention to improvement in Chemistry, and the professional study of Physic. Greatly have his acquirements secured to him the respect and esteem of his numerous acquaintance. From regard to his merit, the Corporation of this University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and for some time he officiated as public lecturer in the same. He contemplates a tour of Europe to visit different philosophical and medical establishments, for the farther enlargement of his knowledge and acquaintance, and to open new sources for increasing the advantages and extending the usefulness of the Chemical Establishment in this Institution.

[1] Hon. Robert Smith (1757–1842) served in the Revolutionary Army, practiced law successfully at Baltimore, and was in succession Secretary of the Navy, United States Attorney General and Secretary of State.

From the above considerations therefore we do very sincerely and cheerfully recommend him to the civilities, friendly notice and consideration of those characters in France, and other countries, who, with pure and enlarged views are devoted to patronize and promote the interests of Science, Virtue, and Humanity.

Given under our hands at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, in the United States this Twenty First day of August, A.D. 1809.

Signed, JOHN WHEELOCK, President.
NATHAN SMITH, Prof. Med."

These two papers were forwarded in due season to the Secretary of State, but before that time, Dr. Spalding had stated his case to Dr. N. A. Haven, M.C. from Portsmouth and now heard from him to this effect.[1]

"Washington, June 23, 1809. Dear Sir: I have had no opportunity of a personal interview with the Secretary of State since the receipt of your favor, until to-day. I acquainted him with the object and motives of your request which he considered highly laudable. He authorized me, however, to say that at this time no mission to France was contemplated, and he thought it improbable if there would be any for some time to come: that public notice would be given in the papers, as soon as any dispatches were intended to be forwarded, and that if any should be sent, previous to the next session of Congress, it would be well to remind him, by Letter, of this application. He led me, however, to suppose that applications were frequently made to him on various accounts, to which he could pay no attention. Congress will probably rise on the 28th, and when I have the pleasure to see you in Portsmouth, will be more particular on this subject. I am Dear Sir, Your Ob'd't Serv't, NATH. A. HAVEN."

At the same time Dr. Spalding also wrote the following ingenious letter to Dr. Smith:

"My Friend: I have it still in serious contemplation to visit Europe, and firmly believe that I shall accomplish it. In that case, I shall pay the most particular attention to anatomy generally, and to the minutiae of every part thereof, to elegant dissection and demonstration, to injecting with wax, quicksilver and lime: to the preparation of the Lymphatics, lacteals, eye, ear, brain, etc., spar-

[1] Nathaniel Appleton Haven (1762–1831) served as surgeon on a privateer during the Revolution, and after capture by the enemy was exchanged for an English Surgeon of the same rank at the especial request of Washington. He practiced for a while as a licentiate of the Massachusetts Medical Society, then went into business and politics, and was now in Congress.

This certifies, that the bearer Dr Lyman Spalding, a citizen of this state, is a gentleman of talents, pure moral character, and respectable connexions. He has long applied in the pursuits of science, and more particularly devoted his attention to improvement in Chymestry, and professional study of Physic. Greatly have his acquirements secured to him the respect and esteem of his numerous acquaintance. From regard to his merit the Corporation of this University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Medecine; and, for some time, he officiated as public Lecturer in the same. — He contemplates a tour to Europe to visit different philosophical and medical establishments, for the further enlargement of his knowledge, and acquaintance; and to open new sources for increasing the advantages, and extending the usefulness of the chemical establishment in this Institution. —— From the above considerations, therefore, we do, very sincerely and cheerfully recommend him to the civilities, friendly notice, and and consideration of those characters in France,

and

and other countries, who, with pure and enlarged
and devoted to patronise and promote the
interests of science, virtue, and humanity. ——
Given under our hands at Dartmouth
College in New Hampshire in the United States
this twenty first day of August, A.D. 1809. ——
John Wheelock President
Nathan Smith Mof. Med.

JOINT CERTIFICATE FROM PRESIDENT WHEELOCK AND DR. SMITH TO SUPPORT THE EUROPEAN PROJECT

ing no expense to be admitted to the dissecting and preparation rooms in France and England and actually working at all those things myself, as I did at Hanover. Also seeing, preparing and making every chemical experiment now exhibited in Europe, and bringing home with me every kind of instrument and apparatus required in Anatomy, dissections, demonstrations, and injections; Also all curious, valuable, rare books, plates, plans and engravings on our Science.

Now, Sir, if you will contribute to the expense, you shall share with me the profits; i.e., I will spend the term of the first courses of your lectures after I return, at Hanover, and will act as dissector and chemical experiment maker to you, and will engage to show you every anatomical and surgical fact which is now known or can be obtained in Europe, and every species and variety of dissection and preparation, and every kind of Chemical Experiment and preparation. But, Sir, I will not engage to spend any more than one course of Lectures with you, as my business in Portsmouth is such as to render it absolutely impossible for me to leave it to the mercy of the waves. It will also be a good opportunity for you to procure a library and chemical furniture, and for your College to obtain books and philosophical apparatus.

With Esteem, your Humble Ser't, LYMAN SPALDING."

The arrival of this letter could not fail to remind Dr. Smith that the Spaldings had helped him to visit Europe in 1796; his reply is worth reading.

"Hanover, July 20, 1809. Dear Sir: I have rec'd your letter respecting your intended tour to Europe. If on due consideration of the subject you are determined to make the experiment, I shall acquiesce and render you all the assistance in my power, which I fear will be very little. I acknowlege the liberality of your proposals, and nothing but the want thereof will prevent me from affording you pecuniary assistance. My affairs are at present very much embarrassed on account of some purchases of land which I made two years since, and the money which I have been obliged to expend for the Medical Establishment has reduced my finances very low. It will be impossible for me to help you from the money granted for a Medical Building, as we do not receive any money from the Treasurer till a year from next January, and that money is granted for an express purpose, and put into the hands of the Committee for that purpose only, so that it cannot be touched by me. As you live in the midst of wealth I thought it might be possible that you might find some person who would loan five hundred dollars for two years. If you could, I would give them my security for it, and if required would secure the payment by real property worth double the sum. If you should find any

opportunity to obtain money in the way and manner pointed out, I would let you have it, and we would settle it in the way and manner you have pointed out in your letter. . . . We are in great distress on account of money in this part of the country, more so, I conclude than you are. At least it is more difficult to procure any considerable sum. I should like to hear from you again, informing me when you propose to go to Europe. I should suppose it would be best to go in Sept'r so as to be there at the beginning of their annual course of Lectures which commence in Nov'r. I am with sentiments of High Esteem, NATHAN SMITH."

Whilst the question of the European Tour was under discussion Dr. Spalding came very near losing his life at Fort Constitution, July 4, 1809. Col. Walbach, who was a former officer in the French Army, had come to America and obtained an appointment in the United States Army in 1801. He had invited some friends to dinner on the festal occasion, and in the midst of it there occurred a terrific explosion, shattering the floor and ceiling of the room in which the dinner was spread, and hurling most of the guests to the floor.

When he regained his senses, Dr. Spalding made for the open air, found seven men dead, and many wounded, for whom he and Dr. William Cutter cared.

Although the doubly signed letter from Dartmouth might be of value on this side of the ocean, Dr. Spalding felt that another, from Dr. Rush, the best known of all American physicians abroad would be of greater value still if his plans succeeded. With this idea in mind, he enlisted the services of his intimate friend Rev. George Richards, as his reply now informs us, but of Dr. Rush's letter of commendation I find no traces.

"Philadelphia, September 18, 1809. Dear Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you that I arrived in Philadelphia on Saturday at 1/2 past 1, and Sunday at 3 P.M. delivered your letter to Dr. Rush in person. The venerable sage received it with the most flattering remarks of polite attention, and begs me to assure you that the certificate shall be forwarded agreably to your requests, and that he stands prepared to tender you any assistance in his power, and that on all subjects you may freely communicate and freely command. Any services in my power are also most cheerfully tendered, and requesting you to inform Dr. Pierrepont of my safe arrival; he and you may expect a lengthy letter when I am perfectly domesticated. Devotedly Yours, GEORGE RICHARDS."

When the voyage to Europe was abandoned because the Government appointment could not be obtained, Dr. Spalding decided that the next best step was to spend the winter at the Pennsylvania Hospital Medical School, and at once wrote to that effect to his friend Dr. Perkins who had lately attended that school.

From Dr. Perkins' answer, we also see that Dr. Spalding had been having troubles about his wig.

"Boston, Oct. 18, 1809. Dear Sir: Your favor I received this day. Some person, several weeks ago called on me concerning the wig, and I informed him that the wigmaker, about the time it was to have been finished, took a sudden start for Europe, in other words took French Leave. What he did with the measure and sample of hair, nobody knew. This information, I expected the man gave you on his return to Portsmouth. So, the present state of the business is as you wish . . . there is no wig made. I thank you for your kind offer. I have no commands in Philadelphia, as I came from that city only a few days since. I have a high opinion of the advantages there for medical improvements. I was highly pleased with Dr. Barton and Dr. James, and with the Pennsylvania Hospital. I presume the lectures there are nearly equal to those of any of the European School. The Professors are men of great eminence and very great ambition. I think you must spend your winter there very profitably as well as pleasantly. Dear Sir; your friend, CYRUS PERKINS."

Immediately after the arrival of this letter Dr. and Mrs. Spalding went to Philadelphia where they spent three months, to their great delight socially and medically. Dr. Spalding made copious notes of all the lectures and from his Note Book I will append in the following Chapter a summary of what he heard and saw.

CHAPTER XII.

Visit to Philadelphia and New York, 1809–10.

I will begin this chapter with some notes concerning the physicians whom Dr. Spalding was now to meet very intimately, for in that way their lectures will seem more interesting as coming from persons with whom we are already acquainted.

Nathaniel Chapman (1780–1853) obtained his degree in Philadelphia, studied in Edinburgh, and was practicing in Philadelphia as early as 1804. He soon stood in the front rank of medical practitioners and instructors. His book "On the Elements of Therapeutics and Materia Medica" was the most artistic that had up to that time been issued in this country. Personally, Chapman was affable, charming in manners, popular, renowned for his gaiety of spirits and skill in emergencies. He founded "The Journal of American Medical Science" and was a famous literateur. He was at this time lecturing on Obstetrics and Materia Medica.

Caspar Wistar (1761–1818) looks at me as I am writing, and I can imagine him stepping out of the frame and saying with his usual bow to his students, "Good Morning Gentlemen." Wistar was a grandson of the first glass maker in America, and as a boy he assisted the surgeons at the battle of Germantown. He obtained degrees at home and abroad, and on his return was made Physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery. He was a delightfully social man, and with Mrs. Wistar, the second, who was a Mifflin, kept open house for local and foreign scients. His "System of Anatomy" caused him to be considered America's greatest anatomist. He took a great fancy to Dr. Spalding, gave him every opportunity for studying anatomy, and they remained on very friendly terms to the end of their lives.

Philip Syng Physick (1760–1837) began with medicine as a pastime; then going abroad with plenty of money and recommendations, he had the great good fortune to be chosen as a pupil of John Hunter's and to live in his family.

From that time on, medicine and surgery were all the world to him. Through Hunter's influence he was made a House Surgeon at St. George's, a position of untold value to any young physician, and one up to that time never before obtained by any American. He went from there to Edinburgh where he obtained his degree in 1792.

He soon obtained public notice in Philadelphia in an epidemic of yellow fever in 1793, for which he was rewarded with a Silver Service. In due season he became Professor of Surgery and on the death of his nephew, Dr. Dorsey, Professor of Anatomy. His successful operation for lithotomy, in his 63rd year, upon Chief Justice Marshall, brought him additional fame, and multitudinous congratulations. His equal as a Lecturer and a Surgeon will hardly be met with in the annals of American Medicine.

John Syng Dorsey (1783–1818) was graduated in medicine when hardly twenty years of age. He then studied in London and in Paris, was on most friendly terms with John Hunter and Sir Humphrey Davy, and on his return was made associate Professor of Surgery with his uncle, Dr. Physick. The death of Dr. Barton promoted him to the Chair of Materia Medica, and that of Dr. Wistar to the Chair of Anatomy. He delivered the brilliant opening lecture November 2nd, 1818, was attacked with typhus on the next day and died November 12th. His "System of Surgery" was one of America's earliest and most efficient treatises on that subject, and as an operator, he must have been bold, judging from his success with an Innominate Aneurism shortly before his death. With the exception of Dr. Physick and of Dr. Valentine Mott of New York, Dr. Dorsey, young as he was, was regarded as the foremost surgeon of the age.

Benjamin Smith Barton (1776–1815) inherited from his Father a great love for Natural History, and after studying in Philadelphia he went to Edinburgh where he carried off the Botanical prize for an Essay "On Hyoscyamus," and obtained a medical degree at Goettingen. He long occupied the Chair of Materia Medica at Philadelphia, and was Editor of "The Medical and Physical Journal." His fame as a Botanist was world wide, many plants being named after him. His lectures were filled with anecdotes, and no Professor received so undivided attention whilst lecturing,

as did Dr. Barton. He was a handsome man, very positive and very passionate in his arguments, but owing to a defective memory, he was sometimes compelled to retract what he had said.

Joseph Parrish (1779–1840) was graduated at Philadelphia in 1805, and it has been asserted that he delivered the first course of Chemical Lectures in America, in 1808. But Dr. Spalding and Professor Silliman antedated him in that respect. Parrish with other medical friends, established a Private School for Medical Instruction in Philadelphia, and then compelled the older school to improve its lectures, and ultimately to unite with his. He was on the staff of the Wills, Eye and Ear Hospital from its foundation, wrote many medical papers, was Editor of the "North America Medical and Surgical Journal," and a considerable contributor to the National Pharmacopoeia.

William Potts Dewees (1768–1841) whose lectures proved extremely attractive to Dr. Spalding was one of America's greatest obstetricians. Owing to lack of money he did not obtain a degree, in course, but practiced for a while without one, and then returning to his studies again was duly graduated. He was one of the earliest specialists in obstetrics, practiced successfully for some time, then retired to Alabama owing to poor health. He resumed practice later on, and was chosen Professor of Obstetrics in the University of Philadelphia. His "System of Obstetrics" is a perpetual monument to his fame, and he remains celebrated as the one who first emphasized the danger of Cardiac Thrombosis in lying in women. His portraits make him a very handsome man, with a winning disposition.

Thomas Chalkley James (1766–1835) of Welsh descent was graduated at Philadelphia in 1787 and went on a voyage to China as Ship's Surgeon. Returning by way of England, he studied there for three years chiefly on obstetrics, and returned to Philadelphia about 1793. In the following year he went West as Surgeon on a Western Expedition. He next established a private course of lectures on Obstetrics in Philadelphia, and later on was elected Professor of Obstetrics in the University of Pennsylvania. He was Editor of "The Eclectic Reporter" a medical journal of high standing, and he also issued an American Edition of Burn's "Midwifery." He was much interested in the treatment of extra uterine

pregnancy, and reported a very early case of inducted labor in a contracted pelvis. His translation of Gessner's "Idylls" was highly praised, and he spent a great deal of time in carrying on the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

With these annotations, let me now pass to Dr. Spalding's Note Book.

Dr. Physick showed us cases of fever from pus collecting in the ring of the abdominal muscle: one died before operation, the other was relieved by opening the abscess. If pus forms in the pectoral muscle, a bougie run into the bottom of the sac will drain it out properly. Nov. 15, he dissected out successfully a large steatomatous tumor from the fascia of the thigh of a man of 40. Three days later I saw him extirpate from the neck of a woman a hard tumor as large as my two fists. In operating, he exposed the carotid and thyroid cartilage on which the tumor lay. Both of these tumors were dressed with adhesive plaster and charpie. At another lecture he mentioned ossified arteries similar to those that I had seen at home. After the lecture I mentioned this fact to Dr. Physick who seemed pleased to hear it. He reduced a right humerus which had been dislocated three months before. Extension and counter extension were employed. Physick, Dorsey and Wistar manipulating, hauling and pulling one way and another. After several vain attempts, several students pulling at right angles with a rope, Dr. Physick put a strap under the axilla, mounted a chair, and then after more pulling and hauling, the bone slipped into place. On another occasion he showed us a knife wound of the stomach (permitting food to run out) which later on, healed; and a penetrating wound of the knee-joint which healed slowly. On one day he removed a small tumor beneath the clavicle, did lithotomy on a child, extracted a stone from the urethra, and punctured for varicocele. He did the lithotomy very elegantly, and after examining the fluid from the varicocele he used water, only, for the injection instead of Port Wine. In amputating he uses but one turn of the tourniquet, to avoid puckering of the skin, which would prevent a smooth incision. At another lithotomy he divided a deep vessel, and ligated it beautifully with a tenaculum passed in beneath. Hemorrhage from the plantar arteries he controlled with a band of copper to press on the arteries but nowhere else. He treated

ulcers of the leg by raising the foot. He is very partial to fractures, and pays great attention to splints, being very fertile in his suggestions as to their size, shape and position. A medullary artery was bleeding profusely, and enveloped in its bony case could not be drawn out or compressed, so he whittled a bit of wood to shape, forced it between the bone and the artery and the bleeding ceased.

"Do not extract a tooth," he said, "in fractured jaws, because you then convert a simple fracture into a compound." "With fractured ribs, tighten the bandage all you can and let the diaphragm do the breathing." He gave practical rules for applying bandages, showing us especially how to prevent swelling from too tight a bandage. He was exceedingly clear in diagnosticating fractures, from dislocations, and again showed us how to bandage.

He was very conservative as a surgeon, saving for instance fingers apparently destroyed. He made his fracture patients comfortable, by ingenious holes in the bed, and boards laid across for rests. He never treated two fractures alike. He told us how John Hunter cured a woman with a stiff knee-joint by causing her to sit on the edge of a table and swing her leg to and fro.

In a long standing unreduced dislocation of the shoulder, he had a Professional Bleeder, at hand, and as the patient fell to the floor from loss of blood, he grasped the arm, and with a single manipulation he had the bone in place in a few seconds. He told us of a girl who sprained an ankle, walked too soon, "to make the joint supple," so that suppuration set in and the patient died. He mentioned Desault's "Fractures," but did not say that Dr. Caldwell had translated that work.

"Dr. Physick was, as I have heard, fond of telling this story, winter after winter. A drunken man in Edinburgh was picked up unconscious and carried to the hospital as an apoplectic. Waking the next morning in a strange place, he inquired what was wrong with him, and why he could not go to work. "Hush, hush," said the nurse "you have had a stroke and they are going to trepan your skull at once." "Not on your life," shrieked the man, and picking up his clothes he fled with speed."

Lecturing on cataracts, he said that the capsule should be extracted with forceps or a hook. A patient with unreduced

dislocation of the femur was brought in for reduction. After counter-extension, and rotation, the neck of the femur broke, to the confusion of the surgeons and to the amazement of the class. "I go next," said Dr. Physick, and without apparent interruption "I go next to speak of strangulated Hernia, in which a high enema of tobacco is better than mere tobacco smoke."

Dr. Physick takes the greatest care to give no merit at all to John Bell, but follows John Hunter "Toto Coelo." "In tapping, you may get water and you may get JELLY!"; at which the students roared. He then mentioned an actress in London who was tapped, so that both the Mother and the Infant died: it was a case of pregnancy, not of dropsy. He once saw a man drop dead in an instant, from holding his hands above his head; the pus from an abscess in the axilla had run into the circulation.

Dr. Rush made much of his lecture on the Mind, mentioned children who could not talk until they were 8, and then he branched off into ventriloquism. No action of man is voluntary, but became so by use. Man is an automaton, driven to and fro like a ship by the wind. People sometimes distinguish with their eyes, the taste of things, and yet perceive colors with their finger tips. "I knew a Mr. Fowler of Virginia who could almost instantaneously multiply mentally any twelve figures by any other twelve."

He also lectured on Natural History, and remarked that the branches of a tree which penetrated a warm room would remain green all winter, even when the rest of the tree outside was frozen stiff.

"When they put down a Land Mark in England, they do it in sight of a dozen boys, call their attention particularly to the fact, and then give them a spanking, so that they will for LIFE, remember the landmark by the whipping."

Dr. Rush said "I remember Dr. Shippen saying; The division of the intestines is arbitrary. You allow twelve fingers' breadth for the duodenum, then trace the jejunum along until you are tired and then call it Ileum, until you get to the Coecum."

After Dr. Spalding had entered notes of a lecture by Dr. Rush on Sleep, he wrote on the margin of his book "This topic deserves great attention from me."

Dr. Rush often talked on Cookery for patients, and gave us excellent receipts for Potato Soup and for Green Corn Grated, and made into a pudding with eggs and milk. A pound of solid meat cut into pieces and put into a bottle and boiled is good for invalids. His lectures on the pulse with its varities, Synochus Mitis, and Synochus Fortis were amusing.

"The pain of a disease" he said, may be located at an entirely different part from its actual seat."

He was fond of phrases: "When I was in the Army," "Mr. White tells me;" "An old lady of Germantown;" " Infuse faith in your patient; Tell patients that they cannot die of That disease, and their mind turns to other thoughts."

He lectured on Patting, Rubbing and Shampooing, as practiced by the Chinese. After seeing a case of dropsy he said "We cure this with bleeding and purging" and Dr. Spalding adds "This is true, for I have seen the patient many times.

Never let a fever patient rest near a wall, but always in the middle of the room. Stimulate him with hopefulness, and drive away visitors who talk about other people dying from just such a fever. When a patient is recovering, get him away from everything that can remind him of sickness, shave him and cleanse him toward recovery.

Dr. Rush was enthusiastic over George Cleghorn (1715–1789) who was a house pupil of Alexander Monro of Edinburgh. Whilst serving as Army Surgeon in the Island of Minorca, Cleghorn paid much attention to a peculiar fever which was there indigenous, and his work on "Fevers," remains a Classic in British Medicine. Many otherwise inexplicable statements made by Hippocrates concerning Minorca Fever only become clear when studied by the light thrown upon them by Cleghorn. Resigning from the Army, he lectured on Anatomy at Dublin. Dr. Spalding purchased Cleghorn's Work for the Library of the New Hampshire Medical Society.

Dr. Rush thought highly of John Hunter, but damned his brother William, with faint praise.

Here is another quotation from Dr. Rush. "Intermittent Fever, may be cured in its initial stage by a gentle purgative. I had this, Gentlemen, from the Captain of a Military

Company during the Revolution, who caused all his soldiers to drink a dose of Sea Water, and they escaped the dysentry."

"Martha Pass, Gentlemen, is better to day. The air in her room is, however, offensive, and I have ordered it to be fumigated with muriatic oxide vapor."

A maniac remembers all that is said to him, a delirious person, nothing.

After ending his lecture and bowing off toward the door, Rush would often turn about and say "One Moment Gentlemen, I have just to add, that one Principle in Medicine is worth a Volume of loose disconnected facts."

With the following summing up of Dr. Rush by my grandfather, I finish what he had to say concerning this celebrated man. "His great forte is to prove everything by a string of analogies like Sancho Panza's Proverbs. He never attempts fair and logical reasoning but supports his hypothesis with the idle talk of a Nurse, or of an Old Woman, or of a Sea Captain, or of a Lady in Philadelphia, or of a Patient in the Hospital. Notwithstanding which, he is the ablest practitioner that I have ever met with, he so exactly points out the Seat and the State of the Disease, and attacks it with such Buonapartean Skill as to vanquish it at once."

Dr. Coxe's lectures are mentioned but slightly in Dr. Spalding's Note Book. One was concerning Thermometers. He performed some experiments which went off fairly well. He produced sound by burning oxygen in a tube, and with a Burning Glass melted metal under water. I suppose that as Dr. Spalding could perform all these experiments, himself, they failed to interest him, and he passes them by without much comment.

Barton's Lectures were a commingling of Natural History and Materia Medica. Syphilis succeeds lepra and is a modified form of the same disease. Gold fishes live in distilled water. Gum arabic can alone sustain life many days. The best Digitalis grows in the shade. Climate alone has changed the negro's skin. If he had been born in a mine, he would remain white until he exposed himself to the sun.

Acetate of Lead was Barton's favorite remedy and combined with opium, was, in his opinion unexcelled. "Dr. Barton takes upon himself," writes Dr. Spalding, "the merit

of introducing this Composition and for all that I know," he adds in a foot note, "he is entitled to it." Quassia was named after a negro who first discovered this Bitter: He was created a Prince by the Dutch, and made a great show with his gay uniform and cocked hat.

"London Prescriptions are inordinately long in order to favor the apothecaries:" Dr. Barton rarely wrote for more than two remedies in the same prescription, did not favor Bark, but mentioned his Paper concerning it, in Coxe's "Museum." He lectured on Porcupines at one time; "and seemed much interested in that animal," writes Dr. Spalding; "and when I talked with him about it after lecture, he begged me to send him the head of one, or if possible, a live one for his Open Air Garden." The space between the eyebrows, the Glabella, indicates Greatness. Washington had the broadest glabella I ever saw.

Dr. Barton often eulogized John Brown (1735–1781)[1] the author of Brunonianism, or the idea that disease was due to debility and should be stimulated, not bled.

Dr. Barton told us of a parrot belonging to Surgeon White,[2] who could laugh, talk, cry and even show signs of reasoning.

Dr. Spalding was also present when Dr. Barton delivered his Eulogy on Dr. James Woodhouse (1770–1809) Professor of Chemistry in the University. Woodhouse served in the Indian Wars and did great service to the State by demonstrating the commercial value of coal.

Dr. Spalding's interest in Anatomy has been repeatedly mentioned and it is probable that his chief aim in visiting Philadelphia was to put himself under the guidance of

[1] Brown was a man of prodigious memory, but unhappily endowed with the unfortunate art of constantly putting his colleagues into the wrong. His "Elementa Medicinae" made a stir in the world. Frederick the Great invited Brown to his court, and other monarchs conferred honors upon him. Fortune at last smiled on Brown and he was on the way to riches when apoplexy killed him. Few physicians have created greater strife in medicine than John Brown, the son of a weaver of Berwickshire.

[2] Charles White (1728–1813) the owner of this remarkable bird was Surgeon to the Manchester Infirmary, and by his original papers on obstetrics revolutionized that branch of practice in England. He first demonstrated Milk Leg, scientifically, and was also a good lithotomist. He became blind in 1803, and the parrot cheered him in his lonely hours.

Caspar Wistar. The Note Book shows that he acted as Demonstrator for Wistar, and also had a private class in Anatomy. From the abundance of remarks on Wistar's lectures, I select a few.

The carotids take a sharp turn in the temporal bone in order to break the force of the current rushing into the brain. A patient totally paralyzed from injury to the spine could speak and reason perfectly. Before each lecture he invariably asked a few students something about the topics of the previous one. In fractures he observed, that the Thumb; erect in the splint; proved that the pressure is equal on both bones of the forearm. Clubfoot may be due to an abnormal muscle in the calf of the leg. When you dissect, hold the skin tight, and follow the course of the fibres of the muscles. Beginners will start in on the muscles, follow to the viscera, continue with the blood vessels and end off with the nerves.

One day when dissecting, Dr. Spalding found in the capsular ligament of the shoulder joint, two floating cartilages.[1] On showing them to Dr. Wistar, he mentioned them in his lecture and also spoke of a patient who could voluntarily dislocate both humeri.

In lecturing on the Larynx, he used a very large model which made every description plain.

Dr. Spalding had long been trying to inject the lymphatics, but did not succeed until December 10, 1809, when he wrote in his Note Book "This day I succeeded in injecting a lymphatic with quicksilver. I discovered it in the Saphena Vein, just below the knee, introduced the pipe, the mercury ran to the thigh, where an unfortunate slash had been made and the lymphatic wounded. So rejoiced was I at the discovery, that I called aloud "Eureka," and they all came and looked at it.

This was the beginning of those unique Preparations of the Lymphatics, which made Dr. Spalding's name celebrated in the history of American Anatomy.

Dr. Wistar spoke of cryptic tonsils, and claimed that they might cause diseases elsewhere. "Charity begins at home," he smilingly said, in mentioning the Coronary Arteries.

[1] These cartilages may be the "Joint-Mice" of to-day, and are thought to be due to fracture of the condyles of long bones after violent exercise.

"How soon they are sent off from the heart to nourish that organ."

Scurvy is due alike to excessive meat or to too many vegetables. Death from a blow on the stomach, or large amount of spirits, is due to concussion of its nerves. "But this explanation" adds Dr. Spalding "is not plain to me."

At another dissection, Dr. Spalding discovered three instances of intussusception, in three different parts of the intestines, and later on an instance in which six inches of the intestine had sloughed off, and been evacuated, yet the patient recovered and died from another cause.

Dr. Wistar mentioned the toxic effects of bile, and Dr. Spalding told him, later, of an instance in which a moribund child was cured by an emetic which evacuated an enormous amount of bile from the stomach.

"December 10, 1809" Three Hundred and Fifty One students were present at Dr. Wistar's lecture to-day, for I counted them." Amongst the friends whom Dr. Spalding made in Philadelphia was John Shelby[1] "from the Backwoods of Kentucky," son of Governor Shelby and brother to Sarah Shelby who married Ephraim McDowell, the first American Ovariotomist. Together, they once discovered in a child a left Ureter which was larger than the large intestine.

Amongst other preparations made by Dr. Spalding at this time was one of the Cranial Nerves, which will be mentioned later on.

Dr. Wistar said, that when in London, three surgeons had tried to introduce a trochar, but in vain. John Hunter came to the rescue and did it successfully. Hunter said to me "Know well your arteries, then cut boldly." Wistar often showed us on the dissecting table, specimens of bad surgery, as a warning to operate well; or not at all.

After Dr. Dewees had finished his lecture, he talked with me a long while on Presentations. He had delivered 5300 women and had only twice found occasion to use a crochet. He thinks that the pain of parturition is due to civilization alone. He never saw a child born alive after convulsions in the mother.

[1] John Shelby (1786–1859) served under General Jackson as an Army Surgeon, lost an eye in battle, practiced successfully in Nashville and founded a Medical School which still goes by his name.

Bloodletting often saves life in convulsions. He once bled a negress 100 ounces, and she recovered.

"I am satisfied," remarks Dr. Spalding at this point, "that we of New England lose patients by delay and inert remedies." "Attack them more boldly, hereafter, shall be my motto."

Dr. James spoke of vicarious menstruation from the lungs, and scratches and showed a large hydatid cyst.

Parturition, says Dr. Dewees, generally begins during the hours for sleep. He told us how to talk to a woman with child, and how if she refused to acknowledge her condition we were to encourage her to come again. He spoke of a physician in a lying in room who said to the nurse: "Take this bloody cloth and give me another." This boorish remark cost him much practice. "Don't degenerate into an old woman," said Dr. Dewees. "Let the nurse do the coddling and pillow shaking. Give your orders plainly, for you are in charge of the case and not the nurse." "Never mind the Doctor," said a nurse to a bashful patient; "he is only like an old woman." This remark overheard by the physician caused him to cease taking charge of lying in women.

Dr. Chapman lectured chiefly on Presentation, Touching and use of the Forceps. Dr. Dewees was the most enthusiastic and anecdotic of the three Obstetricians: Chapman and James were more practical.

Dr. Caldwell talked in flowery style on Animal Life, and after much beautiful language he ended in this way: And yet after all that we can say, "Life is Life." He daily argued and manifested his spite against Dr. Rush, and Brunonianism, talked on the Vitality of the Blood and insisted that debility was not the cause of disease, but the Result.

Dr. Dorsey always walked the Wards with his uncle, Dr. Physick, often stood on the platform whilst other lectures were going on, and occasionally gave us a lecture of his own. His talk on Bronchotomy was clever. "In penetrating wounds, apply the dressing so that it cannot fall into the cavity." In a gunshot wound of the thorax he bled the patient to 180 ounces, in twelve days yet he made a good recovery. A bayonet wound of the abdomen was fatal, because in Dr. Dorsey's opinion, the liquor which the patient had just then been drinking had run into the abdominal cavity.

Several evening lectures on chemistry by Dr. Parrish and Dr. Rogers[1] were also attended, but no notes of them remain.

After four successful months of study in Philadelphia, Dr. Spalding went to New York and walked the Wards of the Hospital with Dr. Valentine Mott[2] then beginning his extraordinary career.

Just home from London, as he walked the wards with Dr. Spalding at his side, he remarked: "Sir Astley"[3] believes this, "Mr. Cline"[4] suggests that, "Benjamin Bell" thinks

[1] Patrick Kerr Rogers (1762–1828), a brilliant Irishman, whilst living in Dublin, was foolish enough to print some reflections on the Government and had to run for his life. He obtained his medical Degree at Philadelphia, lectured privately on Chemistry, established a Loaning Medical Library and wrote papers of value on "Silver Nitrate" and on "Tobacco, medicinally used," yet despite his industry he was always in financial straits. He moved to Baltimore, obtained success, rose in the profession and was elected Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry at William and Mary College.

[2] Dr. Mott (1783–1865) was the leading surgeon of New York and probably of America, for many years. He had great advantages of study at home and abroad, and performed every operation that surgery then accepted. After phenomenal successes he retired to Europe for some years, yet on returning, he again dominated American Surgery. No one came near him for skill. No one dared to follow his boldness in surgery. He ligated the innominate, amputated at the hip joint, and removed the clavicle with an immense osteoma attached. He performed 200 successful lithotomies, but his medico literary achievements were trifling.

[3] Sir Astley Cooper (1768–1841) filled the largest space in the public eye of any surgeon of his time. Unmanageable as a boy, he gradually came to his senses, and was early chosen a Surgeon to Guy's. He was known everywhere by his "Dislocations and Fractures." He was, however, a failure, as a lecturer until he threw Theories to the winds, and confined his remarks to Clinical Cases, in which he fascinated all, with his wealth of illustration. He was one of the handsomest men that ever lived, had a musical and penetrating voice, and at the end of a joke, he would laugh, "Ha Ha," and rub his nose with the back of his hand. This man dominated the world of surgery, medicine, and medical law for years, and his works were quoted and upheld as The TRUTH in every malpractice suit of the era in which he flourished. As a Jury Lawyer in Maine once said to twelve men whom he wanted to convince; "Why Gentlemen, when the KING of ENGLAND is sick, he sends for Sir Astley!" and he won his case.

[4] Henry Cline (1759–1827) was an industrious, patient, and persistent surgeon, who made as much as $50,000 a year, and as Sir Astley said, he might have saved something, if he hadn't wasted it on Farms. He wrote but little and during the French Revolution was on the most friendly terms with the ringleaders.

thus; and so on, until the young Doctor from Portsmouth may have felt that this was as good as seeing those great men in person.

During his stay in New York, Dr. Spalding one day made this little note. "Dr. Mott was very kind to me this morning, showed me new instruments from London, and some especial trephines; he operated twice, especially for me, and then he finished his day's work with a lecture on Varicocele."

The last item in this historical Note Book shows the difference in popularity between Philadelphia and New York as medical centers; for there were 351 students in Philadelphia and only 100 at both schools in New York.

CHAPTER XIII.

Events and Letters Received in 1809-10.

Early one morning when in Philadelphia, Dr. Spalding received a note from Capt. William Yeaton, once of Portsmouth, now of Alexandria, Virginia, to the effect that he had brought from Portsmouth from Mr. Edward Parry[1] of that place some mineral for analysis, that it had been mostly ground to powder during the long voyage, and that what was left could be found at the City Hotel, with the bar tender.

When the ore was found in so unfit condition Dr. Spalding wrote to Mr. Parry and soon received an answer to this effect.

"Portsmouth, Dec. 28, 1809. Dear Sir: I was sorry to find the ore I sent by Captain Yeaton got loose in his trunk, and I am afraid that you did not get a fair sample of it. I should have sent you a box of it, if there was a vessel bound for Philadelphia, but there will be none these two months. You observed in your letter that Mons'r Goddon[2] would annalyze it for 15 or 20 Dollars. I wish you would inform me what it would cost to bring it to a Metallic Substance in such manner as I could have a small Bar of a few inches long, and what quantity of ore would be needed for that purpose.

Mr. Parsons of York says that this Ore is more valuable than copper and enclosed you will find a sample of it, after being burnt, which he calls Venezzian Red Paint, which I wish you would show to some eminent painter and ascertain its value. You will particularly oblige me in being particular to find out the real value of this Ore, and, if it should be in your power to find out the best method how to proceed to bring it to be productive, you would confer an Obligation, On Your Friend and Humble Servant Edward Parry."

The following entertaining letters from Rev. Philander Chase were also received during the visit to Philadelphia.

[1] Edward Parry a merchant of Welsh descent was a son of a former Royal Mast Agent at Portsmouth.

[2] Mons. Goddon, was an analyzing Chemist and Lecturer in Philadelphia.

New Orleans, Dec. 2, 1809. My dear Friend: Your favor came to hand about 2 weeks ago, and as soon as my cares have permitted, I now give it an answer. I am sorry you had no opportunity of conversing with my worthy friend Scott.[1] I know you would have liked him, and that he would have been proud and happy in being acquainted with you, and in communicating to me those nameless minutiæ of life which are so gratifying to an old friend, and neighbor. Captain Seward[2] did not call on me; the packet of which he was bearer containing your FAVOURS, being lodged in the Post Office at the mouth of our River. Your Bill of Mortality I think a good and useful thing; to the curious, and to men of your profession particularly so. The Oration,[3] especially its Notes, afforded me much amusement. But, who is your Grand Chaplain? You did not remember my being so much out of the world, and that an answer to this question would have been a necessary piece of information to give me.

Your mentioning your visit to the place of our Nativity affected me more than from the manner or style you seemed aware of. The remembrance of those innocent, healthful and sportful meetings of which you speak serve but to deepen the shades of the dismal prospects, which in this land of Vice and death are continually before me. I felt the contrast and still feel it. This you can easily imagine when I tell you that our City was never known to be more unhealthy; that Mrs. Chase and myself had little else to do but to attend on the sick, the dying and the dead, till we ourselves were seized with the dreadful Malady.

Who would not, under circumstances like these feel the full force of that contrast which your gentle words raised in our view! So many of my friends and warm supporters have died and moved from the Country, so many more have failed by the effects of our national embarrassment, that I must no longer think it practicable to pursue the object on which I was sent hither. The thing is fixed, and I shall return to the Northern States in the Spring. The Clergy in N. Y., are for placing me in N. Y., but all engagements of this nature I think I shall at present decline. I love my native State, above all, my native Town. The people there, press me, and did I not think the thing burdensome, I should accept their offer.

As you will have abundance of time to write me an answer be-

[1] Mr. Scott was clergyman from New Orleans.

[2] Captain John Seaward was a revolutionary veteran, a sea captain and finally a Customs Officer at Portsmouth. He lived until 1845, was over 85 when he died and was the last man in the town to wear his hair in a Queue.

[3] The "Oration" was delivered by Rev. Mr. Richards at the laying of the Corner Stone of St. John's in 1808.

fore April, the month fixed for my departure, I beg you will not neglect me. Tell me all the news, how your Church flourishes; how goes the wheel of State: I think I shall, if it please God, be in Cornish about the months of June, July and August. Can't we contrive to meet there? When I am again settled it will be for life. Ever your sincere Friend PHILAN'R CHASE."

In his second letter Mr. Chase writes:

"New Orleans, Jan. 29, 1810. My dear Friend: Capt. Seaward has at length done me the honor of visiting and dining with me, and although I wrote you in answer to your favor, by him, I cannot refrain from telling you again that I am in health and prosperity. The time for my visiting my native soil is fast approaching, when, among my sincere friends I hope to embrace yourself. God grant I may find you in health and happiness!

My brother Dudley [1] informs me that my sons are quite grown, and much improved in literature. How I long to fold them to my bosom, and give them a father's blessing. Our winter is mild, and although by the date, in the depth of winter, the trees are putting forth, and the flowers in blossom. The crops of sugar and cotton of our land have been and are uncommonly good, this season, and were it not for the restrictions on our trade, we should be unusually prosperous.

What shall we do with a War with Great Britain? May God defend and watch over our beloved country for good! I believe I informed you in my last of the great mortality of our past summer. It is generally believed to have been caused by the uncommon overflowing of our River, joined with the intense heat of the succeeding season. Happy are you, who live in a healthy climate. You know not, nor can scarcely conceive, our sufferings; death staring us in the face and no retreat. Our people too wicked to hope for mercy, and too hardened to repent. Yours P. CHASE."

A pleasant letter also came from William Neil, a genial merchant of Portsmouth.

"Portsmouth, 8, Dec. 1809. Dear Sir: It gave me much pleasure to see a line from you handed to me to day, still more to hear that you are satisfied with your journey, and that the object you had in view; viz; Improvement in Medical Matters is worth your pursuit. I am not surprised at the politeness of the Professors in sending you their tickets. I am more astonished that one of the number omitted that mark of respect. Tell me; is he an Irish-

[1] Dudley Chase (1771–1846) was graduated at Dartmouth in 1791, practiced as a lawyer in Randolph, Vermont, and after a long career at the Bar became Chief Justice, and then a Senator.

man!? The diversified practice you have the means of seeing, will no doubt enlarge your Ideas, even if it should not augment your medical skill, which, whatever you might think was never doubted here. I wish to know when you return. Our politicians or rather our Peripatetics who discuss Politics at the Corners, are very high at present. War, War, with the English! Down with the friends of England, etc. Things, however, look serious, if not gloomy at present, and another embargo is dreaded. For deaths, marriages, and other local news I refer you to your other friends, not being much conversant with Town News. I must, however, mention the Death of Mr. Chauncy,[1] our good old friend. Yours with Respect, Wm. Neil."

On the same day Dr. Pierrepont also wrote the News.

"Portsmouth, Dec'r 8, 1809. Dear Friend: To day a letter from you was handed to me by the kindness of Mrs. S. which to me was a very welcome circumstance. Up to the present period of your absence you appear to be in good spirits, among good friends, and I believe enjoying some literary advantages not to be met with here.

From the quantity of matter and the frankness with which you communicate it, I should believe you do not think me susceptible of envy, and at any rate I will so conclude at present. Although you know I deride the political distinctions of society, how do you know but my heart rankles at your literary feasts, where all the various charms of Science solicit you to taste? I am pleased to find you estimate this journey a most fortunate circumstance, and that the Philadelphians are gratified, and take an interest in your visit and please to COAX them to develop all that can be developed at London and Edinburgh.

The venerable Chauncy is dead. That cursed case you mention was thus: When I arrived at the house the woman was very composedly in bed, having been delivered of a dead child. As I learn from the woman, it was a foot-presentation; the child was rather small and puny.

We have nothing essentially important in the news way. To day, the commercial class are dreading an embargo; hurry and trepidation drive them to and fro about town, such of them as have vessels about to sail. I have attended your patients. We have

[1] Charles Chauncy (1729–1809) was a descendant of President Chauncy of Harvard, and obtained at that University his degree. He was for a long time confidential clerk to his Uncle, Sir William Pepperell of Kittery. Mr. Chauncy was a very small man, but very erect, alert, full of wit, and highly esteemed. He wrote a great deal for the newspapers and early American Magazines, and in that way obtained a wide acquaintance.

had no Society Meetings, no dissections, and indeed it is as torpid and as murky in this place as in the center of a nine days forest, nothing to rouse the spirits but that damning phrase: Pay me what thou owest. It is a subject of great WONDERMENT what has induced you to take this journey. Some say you have an appointment. Others say you think of removing, and if informed correctly, they are astonished at the Cause. These cold hearted fellows would not give their hundred dollars for the peerless mind of a Newton or the unrivalled erudition of a Bayle. Enquire the opinion of the Philadelphians of "Sinclair's Code of Longevity," and conclude how it will do for our Library. From his literary connections, and intercourse, I should think it good. Be so good as to secure for me the Edinburgh Journal for years 1807–8–9. Although I have 3 Nos of 1807, yet it will break the set unless the Volume of that year is purchased. In my next, I shall enclose cash, or Bills rather, for the payment. Your friend, JAMES H. PIERREPONT."

In his next communication Dr. Pierrepont sends additional items:

"Portsmouth, Feb'y 12, 1810. Friend Spalding: I have gladness of heart that you can inform me, yourself, that the journey to Philadelphia is not like to disappoint you. You seem to have divided your studies so discreetly that there seems nothing for a friend to advise, only that you do not let that ardent disposition to obtain information diminish. You undoubtedly pass time pleasantly in Philadelphia, and it appears you can investigate almost every object contemplated in a London Hospital, unless perhaps a more perfect research into the lymphatics. I rejoice that you contemplate bringing home some preparations a la mode of Philadelphia. By the way, ours are safe in the BOOK CASE, which appears well, and will contain a handsome assortment. In one of the doors there is a knot larger than I would have put into the work, had I been able to attend to the workman, but I have been a victim to a violent inflammation in the arm from venesection, soon after which operation I used the arm, and of course twisted out the little plug of agglutinated blood and lymph which filled the Orifice. The inflammation ran to high degree, occupying the whole extremity, but it at length subsided. I had had for 4 or 5 months past, some obstruction about the heart, and lately attended with an intermitting pulse. Supposing it might proceed possibly from a plethora I determined on Venesection (with these results).

We have had little to do in this place, and I believe you could not have spent your time more usefully, for the pecuniary benefit here would have been nothing worth boasting of. I have received

3rd Vol. of Bell "On Tumors" which is all that has been imported for our society. I wish we had Fordyce's[1] "Dissertations on Fever." Please to think of it when in New York.

I have noticed in "The Anthology," that Johnson's Dictionary is to be printed in Philadelphia; please to inquire into this, also, in your rambles over the City. I enclose some money to pay for the "Edinburgh Journal," but cannot tell whether it is $6 or $9. If the former, I will pay the other to Mr. Taft. I believe Cabanis,[2] "Sketches" is a Treatise of merit. If you meet with it, notice it, and think if our Society will relish it. Our District medical meeting was celebrated as usual, and eleven members were present. I read a Grand Dissertation, which you will not doubt. Drs. Dwight and Ranney are appointed to read at the next meeting. Our accounts[3] "are too extravagant to be allowed." If you visit Washington, deride this paltry spirit of Oeconomy! Yet, I wish you to return sooner than you will be able in that case, for I assure you it will afford much pleasure to see you "Face to Face." Our little Anatomical Institution must become highly valuable, to ourselves, at least; must tend to concentrate our mutual love for science.

I am with esteem, Your Friend, JAMES H. PIERREPONT."

The following note signed Joshua Brackett is from a namesake of the elder Joshua, now dead. The younger man practiced in Portsmouth until 1817, when I lose trace of him

"Portsmouth, N. H. Feb. 1810. Dear Sir: You are daily enriching your fund of knowledge, by experience, and yet according to promise you have never informed me of your reception, opportunities, progress, or friends, which has anxiously been expected. Delay no longer! The other day I saw your patient, whose eye has

[1] George Fordyce (1736–1802) studied with Cullen and with Albinus at Leyden, and lectured in London. His "Notes on the Temperature of the Human Body" have much value. He preached "One Meal a day," which he ate in this way; At 4 P.M. he went to Dolly's Chop House and the servant put on the table a tankard of ale, a bottle of Port, and ½ pint of Brandy. Generally half a broiled chicken, and 1½ pounds of Steak were provided with vegetables and a Tart. Over this Meal Fordyce dallied until 5.45 when he set off for his Chemical Lecture.

[2] Pierre George Cabanis (1757–1808) a Senator of France and the physician of Mirabeau, did a great deal for the Hospitals and Medical Schools of France during the Revolution, wrote on "Medical Philosophy;" "The Immortality of the Soul," and on "Mirabeau during his last illness."

[3] "Our accounts" were for services rendered to the wounded at Fort Constitution.

taken a stand from which as you may well suppose it will not depart. It is much diminished in size, and exhibits a great disfiguration. She wishes to have a false one. I wish you to procure the materials, and you shall insert it at your return. Your Humble Servant JOSHUA BRACKETT. To Dr. Spalding; vel Sangrado."[1]

If Dr. Spalding forgot Dr. Brackett he did not forget to tell Dr. Smith the news from Philadelphia; and was rewarded with the following reply.

"Hanover, Feb. 13, 1810. Dear Sir: I have received a letter from you since you arrived at Philadelphia, which I should have answered before, but much business together with a little bad luck has kept my head and hand busy for some time past. But as I now have obtained a Truce for a time, I will be a more punctual correspondent for the future. Toward the last of our last Course of Lectures, I contracted with a certain person to go to Boston to procure, if possible, a Cadaver. But, instead of going to Boston, he went to Enfield, as it appears, and found a subject, which was taken by an Officer, when about half dissected. The circumstance made a prodigious bustle for a time, and gave me great disquietude, but I believe we shall survive the accident without material injury, either personal or to the Institution.

I should have been glad to have taken your advice and come to Philadelphia and spent part of the Winter there, but the circumstance above narrated, with my usual concerns prevented it. I think, however, I shall visit that City in the course of the next winter. I wish you to procure for me a Gorget for cutting for the stone, according to the most improved plans, such an one as Dr. Physick will recommend. Though I have operated for the four last times with success, I suspect my gorgets are not right. I have one according to Mr. Cline's plan, and two according to Monro.[2] I wish also that you would make diligent inquiry of Dr. Physick respecting his mode of operating on the eyes; what kind of instrument he uses; and everything else which will be interesting to me.

I am with sentiments of Esteem, your friend and servant, NATHAN SMITH."

[1] Sangrado was a fanciful name given to Dr. Spalding for his learning. It came from a Spanish Romance, and was copied later in Gil Blas.

[2] Alexander Monro (1762–1817) was the second of that name. He studied with his Father and abroad, where his acquaintance with Meckel of "Meckel's Ganglion" fame, led him to study finer anatomy. "The Foramen of Monro" is his. Monro, like other physicians, owned a farm, but unlike other Medical Farmers, he returned to town at night, subject to the calls of his patients.

Among the early letters which Dr. Spalding received after his return from Philadelphia was the following from Dr. Noyes.

"Newburyport, July 25, 1810. Friend Spalding: Thou art welcome to send for a Bill of Mortality as often as thou wilt by so fair a messenger. But will they come? Yes Sir, in future they shall come, or rather go to you. Verily I thought that I had sent you one, long ago; long before the calling of Miss Jackson. I think I sent by Mrs. . . . Plague on it. I have forgotten her name, but that is no matter, for she promised to deliver it to you. I suppose the record of Marriages at the bottom excited her desires for I think the list of deaths could not tempt her to retain it. I have not sent my Bills of Mortality by mail, of late, for our Post Master demanded letter-postage, and that, with the envelope would be more than they are worth. But, what am I writing? An APOLOGY for inattention to a FRIEND who could pass by my door four or five times as you have without calling! I can add no more: the messenger has called for the letter: so you must take this, or nothing. Yours etc., N. Noyes."

The context of the appended note from Dr. Dorsey shows that Dr. Spalding had asked him for powders and plaster but had failed to receive them, owing to lack of a messenger. When, therefore, Mr. Samuel Hazard,[1] a resident of Philadelphia was setting off for Boston, Dr. Dorsey sent by him this note and the plaster.

"Philadelphia, 6th Aug. 1810. Dear Sir: After so long neglecting to reply to your favor of 22nd of May, you may perhaps suppose that I have forgotten it. This I beg to assure you is not the case. An unavoidable occurrence prevented me from sending the plaster in time for your messenger who left the town the day after I received your letter. Since that time I have had no opportunity of forwarding it until the present which I hope will prove a safe and speedy one. The "Antimonial Powders" are prepared in such a variety of ways, that I know not, without particular instructions, how to order them. If you will take the trouble to specify the formula, I will have them forwarded to you as soon as an opportunity offers. I rejoice to learn of your success in the operations you have performed; may it ever continue! Accept my thanks for the Bill of Mortality you were kind enough to send me, and believe me, very respectfully your friend, J. S. Dorsey."

[1] Mr. Hazard was a son of a former Postmaster General, and after traveling abroad, he spent the rest of his life compiling "Registers" and "Annals" of Pennsylvania.

The little note from Professor Silliman, recalls a long lost Memoir by Dr. Spalding.

"New Haven, Aug. 10, 1810. Dear Sir: It was not till to-day that I received your favour which was intended to accompany your Memoir on Meteoric Stone, which it seems you intended me the honour of sending me. I have to regret that an unfortunate accident has deprived me of the pleasure of receiving it. Dr. Perkins will explain the matter. I need not say how much I regret the misfortune. Should, however, this copy be finally lost, I trust we shall still see the Memoir; in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society.

You will find a paper on mineral waters and their artificial preparation in the appendix of the new edition of Kenney's Chemistry, now publishing in Boston by Wm. Andrews. I am Sir, Respectfully yours, B. SILLIMAN."

We are now introduced to a new acquaintance of Dr. Spalding's, Dr. Benjamin Clapp, who obtained his degree of M.B., at Dartmouth in 1805, practiced in Gloucester, Massachusetts, and was now studying in Philadelphia where he was graduated M.D., in 1810. He settled in Charleston, South Carolina, and died there in 1821, after a successful career.

From Philadelphia he wrote this valuable informatory letter.

"August 19, 1810. My Friend: Your communication was duly rec'd, and gave your friends much pleasure in the perusal. I immediately purchased the sticking plaster as you requested, at 1 dollar a pound. Dr. Coxe has lately sold out his medicines and the other Doctor had left the Hospital, consequently I did not apply to either of them, but paid for it myself. Yesterday I received your second note, and am now sorry that I purchased so soon, but I presume that you will find a want of it, and it certainly comes very cheap. I have seen Dr. Dorsey and he informed me that he would send half a dozen copies of Cooper's Dictionary to Charles Pierce, for sale, and yours will be among them. There are no medical books of importance out this summer, except the 2d Volume of Astley Cooper, and that is not to be sold at present. It is healthy in this city for the season. The Cholera Infantum is the only disease that has made much progress for the two last months, and that has been very fatal; the deaths in the City and Liberties have been from 50 to 60 a week.

The Professors and families are well. Dr. Barton has returned from his tour in Virginia. Dr. Wistar is as polite as usual. Dr.

Rush and wife, in Statu Quo. They all send much love and good wishes. Dr. James and Robert Hare [1] were elected Professors by a majority of 10 or 12. Dr. Chapman wisely withdrew his name and gave James, his influence. You see by this, that Dr. Rush's influence is not as great as it was at Coxe's election. Dr. James has likewise been elected; Accoucheur to the Hospital.

You ask me to explain my object, views, expectations and encouragement by coming here to reside. This I will do with pleasure. The fortunate termination of my affairs at Gloucester left me completely at liberty to consult my own inclination in making an establishment in business, where it was most congenial to my feelings. I therefore, immediately determined on spending the summer months in this City, in studying Botany and Natural History, and attending to what business that I could with convenience, and in the Fall, when I could with safety to health, go to the South for an establishment in business. I shall sail for Charleston, S. C. by the middle of October or beginning of November, and shall put myself into a place where I shall be able to obtain some property. I have always considered it the duty of every man in the early part of his life to make such exertions, even at the risk of his health and life, as would insure him a living in old age, when he would not be able to make them to advantage. This City, you know, is filled with the Profession, and it would take a long time to gain a respectable standing. Three young doctors of our acquaintance are doing nothing, but John Vaughan is Anatomizing upon Miss Betsey Pratt to pretty good advantage and it is said that he will marry her this Fall. Permit me to congratulate you on the birth of a Son.[2] May he possess the industry and Talents of his Father and the virtue and amiable disposition of his Mother. Yours Sincerely, Benj'n Clapp."

This trifling note from Mr. Bill Barnes shows how even in the quiet life, death suddenly intrudes.

"Claremont, August 21, 1810. Dear Brother: I rec'd yours of April 1st informing us of your return with Mrs. Spalding to Portsmouth, where you had joy to find your children and friends well. We were thankful to hear of your return. We have heard from you at sundry times since, as well as by yours of the 28th of July together with a very agreeable present of pamphlets, masonic and

[1] Dr. Robert Hare (1781–1858) was an expert chemist, and the inventor of the Oxy-Hydrogen blow-pipe. His experiments during the forty years in which he filled the Chair of Chemistry in Philadelphia were brilliant, but his lectures were eccentrically and hesitatingly delivered from notes on scraps of paper.

[2] "The Son" was my Father, Lyman Dyer Spalding, born July 2, 1810.

other useful information. Your parents enjoy a good state of health. Mrs. Barnes wants very much to see you all and particularly your new born son. As we have made use of your name for OUR son, we should be glad to be useful to you respecting a name for yours. I feel myself wounded when I consider how I have so long neglected writing to you, but hope you will excuse me. Major Deyton was instantly killed the 18th of this month, by a dry sapling that had long been bent. It broke and he being under, it hit his head. Esquire Stone the Clothier of Wethersfield being on the bridge nigh his house when the water swept the bridge away was found dead a mile down the stream. Dr. Fitch's wife died this day of consumption. This week has been the most extraordinary for rain and high winds that I can say I remember. With Esteem, BILL BARNES."

The various items contained in the letter now arriving from Dr. Ebenezer Lerned of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, illustrate New Hampshire Medical History. Dr. Lerned (1760–1831) was prominent in the State Medical Society, delivered before it an Oration "On the Rise and Progress of Medicine," and was a delegate to the Convention to form the Pharmacopoeia.

"Hopkinton, N. H. Aug. 28, 1810. Dear Sir: I received your circular and feel happy in hearing of the improvement making in our profession, and that the N. H. Med. Soc., is throwing off its Torpor and assuming a Spirit of Inquiry. I enclose you the Certificates of the two young Gentlemen who were examined and approved at our last district meeting. They wish to obtain elegant Diplomas. I accordingly enclose their certificates and four Dollars for the fees as stated in your former letter, and must ask you to have them ready for the Bearer on his return to Hopkinton. Quere? Would it not be better to write: "THIS" may certify, than "THESE" may certify? And is there any impropriety in inserting the place of residence after the name, as M. LONG, Jr.[1] of Hopkinton? The fees for examination are not yet disposed of. The Censors conceive it to be their duty to appropriate them for the good of the Profession, by the purchase of Books.

Doct. John Preston[2] of New Ipswich, an associate of the Centre District has written to me, stating that he has received a Letter notifying him that he is indebted to the Society to a large amount. He further states that his Father who has been dead above ten

[1] Dr. Moses Long, Jr. (1787–1858) was a Dartmouth Medical Graduate and practiced many years in Hopkinton.

[2] Dr. John Preston, Sr. practiced in New Ipswich all of his life and his son, John Jr. (1770–1828) was graduated at Dartmouth in 1792.

years was admitted an Original Fellow, that he never joined, but ever declined joining the Society. He, therefore, declines satisfying a demand against his Father, as he conceives there was no contract. As he has been dead many years, I think it best to erase his name in the Catalogue.

I return your Book of New York Laws after so long a time. It is healthy in Hopkinton. What is unusual I have had three patients laboring under Phrenitis Idiopathica [1] in the course of a few months. They have all terminated favorably by the use of large Depletion.

Your Ob'd't Serv't. EBEN'R LERNED." [2]

[1] "Phrenitis Idiopathica" may be Brain Fever.

[2] The other young gentleman admitted was Dr. Peter Bartlett of Salisbury (1789–1868) who finally moved west and died in Peoria, Illinois.

CHAPTER XIV.

Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery and President of the Fairfield Medical School, 1810–1812.

The month of October, 1810, brought to Dr. Spalding a great surprise in the form of an invitation to lecture on Anatomy and Surgery at Fairfield Academy, New York. Fairfield was a farming centre of perhaps two thousand people, ten miles from Little Falls on the Mohawk River. The Academy had been founded in 1802, it gradually increased in educational importance, in 1809 Chemical and Medical Lectures were added, a Lottery Grant was obtained from the State, and Dr. Spalding was now invited to go on with the work so well begun.

Those who had known nothing of Dr. Spalding's career may have wondered how a physician from a small place like Portsmouth should have been invited to lecture in a Medical School in New York when there were men of greater public renown in the larger cities. These letters, however, show how well known he had by this time become from his lectures at Dartmouth, his studies with Nathan Smith and Dr. Ramsay, his gifted demonstrations of the Lymphatics under Wistar, and the very high personal and friendly esteem in which he had been publicly held by the leading physicians in Philadelphia and New York, in the previous winter.

As fortune would have it, Dr. Josiah Noyes (1776–1853) the Instructor in Chemistry at Fairfield at this juncture was a Dartmouth graduate, who had attended Dr. Spalding's lectures at Hanover, and knew of his studies with Dr. Smith and Dr. Ramsay, so that when it was proposed to enlarge the Medical Department in the Academy, he nominated Dr. Spalding for the new Professorship, and was directed to invite him to look over the field, which he did in this flattering manner.

"Fairfield, County of Herkimer, N. Y. Oct. 2, 1810. Dear Sir: I am authorized by the Trustees of this Institution to give you a brief description of the Literary Institution established in this place and to give you an invitation to visit it.

It is expected that the Academy and Medical Institution connected will take the name of College soon. The instruction at present is about the same as is given in the most respectable colleges in the United States. The number of students besides Medical Students is generally from 90 to 115. The Rev. Caleb Alexander [1] is the Principal. There is, besides, one Tutor and an assistant who attends to the lower branches. We have three buildings, one of stone called the Laboratory, containing 14 elegant rooms. There are two lecturing rooms, one for Anatomy, and the other for lecture on Chemistry. These two rooms perhaps are better than any others built for the same purpose in the United States, except Philadelphia. Our Chemical Apparatus is more complete than any in the City of New York, and the Anatomical Museum is equal to Dr. Smith's at Dartmouth.

I have given two courses of Chemical Lectures and Dr. Jacob,[2] one on Anatomy to between 30 and 40 students. The number this year, will probably be not far from 50, which will be more than they will probably have at both Colleges in the City of New York. This Institution sustains the highest reputation through the State.

The Legislature granted 5,000 dollars for the Medical Department last winter, and will probably grant more the next winter. The situation is pleasant and near the centre of the State.

The lectures this season will commence the first of November, and a contract has not yet been made with any one to deliver the Anatomical Lectures. The Trustees are confident that should you add the weight of your reputation and talents to their exertions, the Institution will not only keep up its character, but will soon become much more respectable than it is already. They are sensible that the funds at present are not sufficient to afford very great encouragement to a Professor of Anatomy, but hope soon to have it in their power to offer a handsome compensation.

I am authorized to suggest a plan, which the Trustees hope will meet with your approbation, and which they think will be advantageous to yourself and to the Institution. There is no respectable surgeon in Albany, nor any celebrated physician. All who have been consulted on the subject, think you would find that an excellent situation, and many Gentlemen in Albany are anxious

[1] Rev. Caleb Alexander (1757–1832) the principal of Fairfield, was graduated at Yale, served as a Tutor there, was a Chaplain in the Army in the War of 1812, and afterwards a preacher. He published as early as 1785, "A New Introduction to the Latin Language," which was followed by an "Interleaved Virgil." He was elected Principal of Fairfield in 1801, built up that Institution to a high standing and then made a turn-coat of himself for political reasons. He finally settled down as Principal of Onandoga Hollow Academy.

[2] Dr. Jacob was a practitioner at Canandaigua, and afterwards at various settlements in New York.

that some reputable surgeon and physician should settle in that City. An invitation has been extended to Dr. White,[1] the greatest Surgeon in this Western District, but he has not yet consented to go. I think you would be pleased with Albany. I know of no place in the United States which unites more advantages, both to the man of business and man of Science. If you should not think the encouragement sufficient to induce you to remain permanently in this village, this plan is respectfully submitted, for your consideration, and should you settle in Albany, we think a handsome compensation can be made you for Two Months spent each year in giving lectures to the students of this Institution.

If you can be here by the middle of November, or soon after, everything will be ready, so that a course of Lectures may be finished in six or eight weeks, for which, provision is made to pay you five hundred dollars; if you should consider this insufficient, they request that you would, if convenient, make us a visit, and, provided you should not conclude to settle here, or in Albany, as already mentioned, the Trustees engage to defray the expense of your journey.

You would have had a communication on this subject before this, had we known that you were in this Country. About a year since I was informed that you were about to sail for Edinburgh, and did not know to the contrary till a few days since, being in N. Y., Dr. Perkins informed me that he had been at your house and that you had spent the last Winter in Philadelphia. He was of opinion that you would profit very much by an exchange of Portsmouth for some City in this State, as the people here, would find the Light of a Star from the East very useful to them.

I wish you to give us an answer by the first mail, if possible; Yours Respectfully, Josiah Noyes, in behalf of the Committee of the Trustees of Fairfield Academy."

To this invitation Dr. Spalding replied:

"Portsmouth, N. H. Oct. 18, 1810. Dear Sir: The request of the Trustees of Fairfield Academy conveyed by your note was received yesterday. You surely must know that I am, at present, unprepared to deliver an entire course of lectures on Anatomy. If sufficient notice had been given me, some arrangement might have been made. I am confident that with this notice I cannot do justice to myself, and I fear that should neither meet the expectations of the Institution, nor give satisfaction to so respect-

[1] Dr. Joseph White (1762–1832) whom we are told had been invited to settle in Albany was a licentiate of the Connecticut Medical Society, and practiced at Cherry Valley, New York. He was a shrewd politician, President of the New York Medical Society, and succeeded Dr. Spalding as President of the School at Fairfield.

able a Class. However, so polite is your request, that I now see fit to accept the invitation of the Trustees to visit them, to discuss their plans, and lecture to the best of my ability about the middle of November as proposed. Your Obedient Servant, LYMAN SPALDING.

P.S. In the mean time could you please tell me what books and engravings on Anatomy belong to the Academy, or to other persons and what apparatus may be on hand for injecting, dissecting and preparing."

Replying to this acceptance Dr. Noyes sent the following suggestions.

"Fairfield, Oct. 31, 1810. Dear Sir: Yours of the 18th I have just received and am happy to find that you think proper to comply with the request of the Trustees. My lectures on Chemistry commence tomorrow evening. About 40 students are already here and a number more engaged. I shall make arrangements for the Anatomical Lectures to commence as soon as you arrive, which I hope will not be later than the time mentioned in your letter. If you come by stage you will only be five days on the road.

When you arrive at the Little Falls, which is seven miles from this place, please to call on Samuel Smith who will furnish you with means to come to this place. I have Bell's "Anatomy," both English and American Edition, and Bell's "Dissections" without plates, a valuable work, and some other things on Anatomy.

We have a syringe for injecting, but not made for that purpose. If you have one, it would be well to bring it. I would have you bring all the engravings you can. Your Friend etc., JOSIAH NOYES."

As soon as he could make his preparations, Dr. Spalding set off for Fairfield accompanied by his Sister in Law, Miss Caroline Coues, made a stop in Boston, where Dr. Spalding consulted with his friend Dr. Shattuck[1] and persuaded him

[1] George Cheyne Shattuck (1783–1854) was graduated academically from Dartmouth in 1803 and Medically in 1806. Whilst there, he made the acquaintance of Dr. Spalding and their friendship lasted for life. Dr. Shattuck became very eminent in the profession, received many honorary degrees, was a Lecturer in the Harvard Medical School, President of the State Medical Society, and very charitable to Dartmouth, Harvard, and the Boston Athenæum. He was a prolific writer in Medicine, and more than once carried off the Boylston Prize in Medicine. Dignified in appearance and of pious habits, he was much thought of by the community and profession, alike. He practiced many years in Boston, and has been followed by descendants illustrious in medicine. The present series of letters throw valuable light on his many-sided character.

to come on, also, to Fairfield and to give lectures on Theory and Practice.

Dr. Spalding reached Fairfield safely, lectured three times a day for six weeks on Anatomy and Surgery, and accepted from the Trustees a formal offer of the Chair of Anatomy and Surgery at a Salary of $500 and expenses. On his way home he stopped at Albany, and looked over the medical field, but finding no promising opening continued on to Portsmouth.

Dr. Shattuck also delivered his course of lectures, returned to Boston, and immediately afterward wrote to Dr. Spalding then at Portsmouth.

"Boston, Jan. 13, 1811. Dear Sir: I sent you by the stage driver last Monday, fifty catalogues, two letters and twelve dollars, and Mr. Ford's[1] receipt inside the catalogues. I have not yet been informed whether you have received them. Do be so kind as to write me whether they have been received.

Not having any communication from Fairfield since I left I cannot inform you what we are to expect another year.

With much esteem, yours, etc., GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

As the correspondence between Fairfield and Portsmouth continues we see Dr. Spalding trying to build up the School, endeavoring to obtain money for a voyage to Europe and watching the political intrigues between the friends of rival institutions of learning.

A midwinter letter from Mr. Alexander is characteristic of the man.

"Little Falls, Feb. 12, 1811. Sir: By last week's mail I received yours of the 23rd. The Committee also had one of the same date. Your nomination of Dr. Shattuck gives universal satisfaction, and accordingly, he is appointed to the Professor's Chair of Theory and Practice of Physic and Physiology, of which the Committee will soon send him notice.

I wish that your proposal of going to Europe could have been as equally satisfactory. We have conferred on the subject, and it appears to be the unanimous opinion, that, in our present feeble, infantile state, your absence during the next medical term would be essentially detrimental, except you send us a substitute as good or nearly as good as the original. By your personal acquaintance, you know that we are young, feeble, almost tottering, a weak

[1] Mr. Ford, was Simeon Ford of Fairfield, a Trustee and the Treasurer of the Academy.

sapling not a full grown oak. Besides we have opposers; Union College is unfriendly. The Trustees of Oneida Academy are making the most vigorous exertions this winter to obtain money from our Legislature, with intention to rival us. The Trustees of Canandaguia Academy where Dr. Jacob resides, are now petitioning the Regents for a College. From envy, or malice, or selfishness or from some other infernal motive, there are some wishing to see us tumble into nonenity. Thus circumstanced our growing edifice would, unquestionably, reel, if a main pillar were removed from under the foundation. The Committee will write you by the next mail, and express their sentiments. It is the universal desire that you should go to Europe. But, this going must not endanger our existence as a Medical School. You will take the subject into serious consideration, and send us your result as soon as convenient: it may perhaps, be easy to find a substitute. Besides, if there were no objection against your going next July, yet we are not prepared, and perhaps we cannot be. To be prepared we are taking every precaution. A humble petition has gone down to Albany praying the Legislature to take measures so that we may soon realize the $5,000 granted last winter. Judge Smith writes me, that there is a good prospect of succeeding. Should we fail, we are blown to the winds.

Your proposal respecting Major Barrow,[1] or Barnot, or Banor (for I cannot tell which by your writing) is pleasing. I will write to Judge Smith[2] who will obtain the most correct information from the scientific gentlemen of the Legislature. I will also make the trial with my "Diplomatic Skill" on the Philosophical Professor at Union College.

Prior to your going to Europe, you shall be furnished with catalogues of a philosophical apparatus, and a library.

The new building will be erected next summer, and finished in Autumn, 72 by 36, and 35 feet high from the bottom of the underpinning. Many trials and much exertion were made to raise the money by individual subscription. It could not be raised, at least, enough to complete the work. The Trustees were convened day before yesterday, and agreed to allow the undertaker, $4,800.

[1] Major Micajah Barron of Bradford, Vermont, was a surveyor, road builder and politician, but the allusion to him I cannot understand, nor to the other one concerning John Taylor, who was graduated from Yale in 1784, served honorably as Professor of Philosophy at Union College and died in 1840.

[2] Judge Smith was the second "Nathan" Smith in Dr. Spalding's list of friends, and lived at Fairfield where he was a lawyer and trustee of the Academy. He was now a State Senator and one of the Regents of the University of New York. From him we shall see several important letters bearing on the history of the Fairfield School.

Wm. Smith will be the undertaker and advance all the money. The property will be his. It will be rented at nine percent and insured: A good bargain, both for the Institution and Mr. Smith. The rooms are much wanted. We are now extremely crowded with 106 students.

We were much pleased at hearing that you and Miss Caroline arrived safely at Portsmouth. Our affections are presented to her, and say to her, if you please, that we retain a pleasing remembrance of her person and social qualities. My family are well, and compliment you with their esteem. Tho' unacquainted, yet your Lady is saluted with our tenderest love. Accept my Cordiality. CALEB ALEXANDER."

Judge Smith's idea at this time was to get actual cash for Fairfield instead of money from a Lottery, and in writing to Dr. Spalding he describes his successes.

"Albany, 9th March, 1811. Dear Sir: Yours of the 23rd January came safely to hand. I have deferred answering it in hopes of being able to communicate to you the result of our application to the Legislature for the 5,000 dollars. All I can say at the present, however, is that a Bill has been brought in for that purpose and I have the utmost confidence that it will pass.

I have received no communication from the Trustees since I left Fairfield, and am therefore unable to say any thing on the subject of future arrangements made by them. I regret, however, the necessity of suspending lectures[1] for next session, as I think it will procrastinate the time that we might obtain a Charter for a College, but I am sensible that to proceed with incompetent professors would be worse than doing nothing.

You wish to know if we accept Hosick's Garden.[2] I regret that

[1] "Suspending lectures" refers to Dr. Spalding going to Europe.

[2] "Hosick's Garden" was a Botanical Garden established by Dr. Hosack (so spelled, but pronounced as Judge Smith writes it). Dr. David Hosack (1769–1835) with whom Dr. Spalding often consulted after his removal to New York, obtained his degree at Philadelphia and settled in Alexandria, Virginia, expecting it to become the Capital of the Country. Diasppointed in this expectation he went abroad, and on his return in the ship "Mohawk," met with a streak of luck, for fever broke out on board, he took charge of the sick, and arriving in New York the papers were filled with his great performance in curing so many. His name was made. Dr. Hosack was in succession Professor of Botany; Obstetrics; and Theory and Practice at Columbia. He entertained profusely, wrote copious letters and many medical pamphlets, and reached the summit of his fame by attending as surgeon in the duel between Hamilton and Burr.

In order to illustrate his lectures on Botany, he established in New York City his Botanical Garden bounded by (47 and 51?) Streets

I am obliged to answer you in the affirmative. The Regents have now the management of it, but they are at a loss what to do with it. My opinion is, that it will in the course of a few years be cut up into lots and sold. I will write you as soon as the fate of our Bill is known.

In the Interim. I am respectfully, Your Ob'd't Servant, N. SMITH."

Judge Smith's letter from Albany was soon followed by one from the Standing Committee at Fairfield in these words:

"Fairfield, March 12, 1811. Dear Sir: Your communication of January 23rd came duly to hand and we should before now have returned your answer, had circumstances been propitious. You are acquainted with our pecuniary resources, and you know that the execution of our plans depends very much on our obtaining from the Legislature the Five Thousand Dollars granted us in a Lottery last session. By petition we have applied to them for an Act enabling us to realize this sum. The petition yet lies on their table: at least, they have not answered our Prayer, though there is considerable prospect that they will. As to your setting out for Europe, next July, we feel inclined to favor your views as much as may be consistent with the interest and prosperity of this Institution. To advance the dignity and respectability of the Academy is a primary object. To this, all other schemes and means ought to be entirely subordinate. Since your departure from us, we have often thought and often conversed together on the subject, and the result of our conversation is; that it would conduce to the good of the Institution should your voyage be postponed one year from next July. For this opinion our reasons are the following: We are an infant corporation, the Academy has not gained permanency, there are several Academys which are now exerting all their vigor to gain the ascendancy over us, and we have some opponents.

Surrounded with these things, it becomes us to unite all our efforts and continue in them to fix our reputation and to gain a stability which cannot be overthrown by the blast of envy or tongue of malice. Should we in any measure relax our exertions, we fear that our antagonists may gain some advantage over us. Should you, in this situation be absent from us any considerable time, we have our apprehensions that the Public mind would subside in proportion it has been raised. Your known abilities as an

North and South and by 5th and 6th Avenues East and West. Finding it expensive, he offered it to the Regents for $1000, who hesitated, as we have seen to pay this pitiful price. "The Medical & Philosophical Register" for 1811, contains a picture of this garden.

Anatomist, and talents as a Lecturer have much excited popular attention: to keep up this attention we deem very important. Besides, your presence in giving another course of lectures next Fall, in conjunction with the erection and finishing of the new building, will, we are confident produce for us the patronage of the Legislature, and the good opinion of the Regents, so that the Governor will be induced to grant us the Charter of a College, and the other money, so that we may be enabled to prosecute all our schemes to advantage. We hope to have the new building completed for the use of the Students, next Fall. The fame of this will draw Students, the Academical and Medical Instruction will draw students. This united Drawing, will draw the attention of the Regents and Legislature, and we think we shall not fail in our expectations.

These are our reasons to induce you to postpone your Journey across the Atlantic: to your candor and mature Judgement, they are proposed for consideration. We wish to know your Opinion, as soon as convenient. Allow us to add, that we highly approve this plan of your attending the Medical Schools of Europe. We shall give it all the concurrence that its import may demand. But we think that both you and we can make better preparations and arrangements, by delaying for the term of one year. To conclude: We are not so fixed in our Sentiments as to be deaf to reasons that may throw light on the Subject.

We are your friends, JONATHAN SHERWOOD,[1] OLIVER ELLIS,[2] WILLIAM SMITH:[3] Standing Committee.

N. B. On your recommending Dr. Shattuck to us as a person well qualified to give lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic, and of Physiology, we have appointed him Professor of the same — in our Institution."

Dr. Spalding evidently communicated the contents of this letter to Dr. Shattuck at once, as will be seen in reading his letter next in order.

"Boston, April 4, 1811. Dear Sir: Yours of the 27th Ult. came to hand two days ago. Delay in answering it has been necessary from an indecision of mind in relation to the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Professorship with which the Trustees of Fairfield Academy have honored me. The news of the appointment was to me truly unexpected. Your cautions to me at the conclusion of our conversation in relation to committing myself by

[1] Dr. Jonathan Sherwood was already practicing as a physician in Fairfield without a Diploma, but later received one at Fairfield from the hands of Dr. Spalding as President of the new Medical College.

[2] Oliver Ellis was a local lawyer of much merit.

[3] William Smith was an architect and contractor living in the village.

conference with friends on a subject so extremely problematical in the event, as my election, quite abated every expectation of its taking place. On re-surveying the great and important duties which will grow out of an acceptance of the office, the mind is almost overwhelmed by the greatness of the undertaking. If the Gentlemen Trustees will so moderate their expectations and requirements as to make them conform to the feeble talents I possess, rather than to the merits of the subject, and will allow me the privilege of resigning if experiment should prove an incongruity between my duties as a practitioner at Boston, and lecturing one month of the year at Fairfield, they are promised my best services; all inadequate as they may be, to the occasion. Respecting the time of year, we may give lectures, and the year on which we shall commence giving them, I have a predilection to the Month of Nov, and the year 1812. If you and myself should continue to reside distant from the Seat of Learning, we should choose to be absent from our circle of practice the most healthy month of that time which would accommodate the students at Medicine. However, decision on this point I will postpone, to listen to further discussion. . . . When do you go to Europe? I shall wish to send for Books by you. With assurances of my High Respect, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

This letter of hesitation and doubt was followed by bad news from Mr. Alexander.

"Fairfield, April 13, 1811. Sir: I seize the first opportunity to announce to you the failure of our petition to the Legislature. Judge Smith arrived at home two days ago, from Albany. He did all a man could do. The Oneida Representatives, favoring Clinton Academy, exerted all their influence against us. They said, that they and other Academies deserved Legislative aid as well as we: that to grant the prayer of our petition was an unjustifiable partiality, and they made the Representatives from other Counties living near Academies, believe their doctrine.

We feel disappointed and a little MADDISH. We shall, however, go forward with increased resolution and perseverance. Judge Smith attempted to negotiate a Loan with some of the Banks in Albany. He met with encouragement of receiving assistance next summer. We mean not to stop here. Both he and I have this day written letters to some principal characters in the City of New York, to gain their influence to aid us in negotiating a loan with some of the Banks of that City. When lotteries are granted in this State, they are often sold at a discount to some Banking Company. We shall try this plan, and we calculate on success. As soon as we meet with success it shall be announced to you.

Three weeks ago, Dr. W. Jacob, acted a most ridiculous farce in this village. He sued Dr. Noyes and myself to answer on a plea of trespass on the Case to the Superior Court. He took a writ of replevin and with a Sherriff attempted to break open the Laboratory to take the Anatomical Museum. The doors were barricaded, and guarded inside with a sufficient number of men to prevent entrance. We knew the property was ours. We knew that his proceedings were illegal. And he, and the Sheriff were told that if they entered it would be at the risque of their lives. After threatening, and swaggering, and going often to the tavern for a quantum sufficit of Brandy, he retired. The next day he was as humble and as meek as a Spaniel Puppy. He gave up all of his prosecutions, and gave to myself, Dr. Noyes and the Trustees receipts in full of all claims and demands. I never saw a man who appeared so mortified, so chagrined, so ashamed, so dispirited and so much like a scoundrel as he. He has gone to Canandaigua.

I thank you for your letter. The date I have forgotten. Prior to the reception of your last letter we had information that the Character of Major B—— was suspicious. We are making vigorous preparations in expediting the New Building. Esq. Ellis and not Wm. Smith is the undertaker. He will begin to lay the foundation on the first of May. Contracts are made on all the materials and for all the work, to be finished on the first of next November.

We are not disheartened by the late failure. All our exertions will be used to make this a Respectable Institution. And we depend on your concurrence and on that of Dr. Shattuck. Patience and perseverance, and energy, are capable of doing wonders. And a wonder it will be, if a large respectable Medical School should be founded in this new World.

My family and self present compliments to your lady and Miss Caroline. Yours affectionately, CALEB ALEXANDER."

Dr. Spalding must at this time have written to Dr. Shattuck to the effect that the Lectures from him would be expected in 1811, not in 1812, as he had before suggested, for Dr. Shattuck now sends the following protest:

"Boston, April 17, 1811. Dear Sir: You mention my commencing a course of Lectures on the Institutes of Medicine this coming Autumn. I am really afraid that such rashness would dishonor the Chair. If it be a possibility with the Trustees to hasten your voyage this Summer, I must decline such an immediate commencement, of the arduous duties of a Professor. One Month, not six weeks, you recollect, is the period within which a course of Lectures may be completed. At what time, too, does Prof. Noyes begin the Chemical Course?

Enclosed is the desired vaccine lymph taken from the arm of a

young lady belonging to a morally correct family, in the Country. Should not this parcel succeed, inform me, and I will send you more.

With esteem, I am, My Dear Sir, your Ob'd't Serv't GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

As time went on and it became evident that the money for Europe would not be forthcoming, Dr. Spalding laid out his plans for the Winter Term of lectures, sent them to Mr. Alexander and in August received the latest news from the Academy and village.

"Fairfield, Aug. 19, 1811. Sir: Your letter has been received, communicated to the Cabinet Council, and approved. Dr. Willoughby [1] has been appointed Professor of Obstetrics and he has accepted it. To gratify himself, he has determined to repair to New York and gain what partial assistance he can, and return in time to give a course of Lectures next November or December.

The new building is covered, and will be ready for occupancy by the first of next November. In stone workmanship it is the best edifice in the Mohawk Country. Of my own accord I have put an advertisement into the Public Papers, when the next course of lectures will commence, fixing the time on the fourteenth day of next October. The Academical Term will commence on the tenth of the same month. I suppose that Dr. Noyes will commence his lectures on the 14th, and that either you or Dr. Shattuck will be on the ground about the same time. I wish that you would communicate with Dr. Shattuck, on the subject and give me the earliest information of your result. Dr. Willoughby thinks that it will be best to have his lectures terminate the course. Concerning this arrangement, you and the other Professors must do as you think proper.

Since the last winter, Dr. Noyes has spent a considerable share of his time in the construction of a Steam Engine for cooking. He

[1] Dr. Westel Willoughby, Jr. (1769–1844) was born in Goshen, New York and settled in Norway, near Fairfield. He was member, treasurer, and Vice President of the New York Medical Society, served as an Army Surgeon in the War of 1812, and was also Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Newport, New York and a Member of Congress. He then moved to the town of Lake Erie and became so prominent that the name of the town was changed in his honor to that of Willoughby. Here he established a Medical School, the Charter of which still covers a school in Columbus, Ohio. In composing a Farewell Address to the graduating Class at Fairfield in 1830, Dr. Willoughby was so unfortunate as to expose himself to the charge of plagiarism from Dr. Thomas Sewall. Those who are interested in such matters can see "The Deadly Parallel" in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal of that year.

has not been to Philadelphia to attend to Botany as he planned. The Smiths and he are not on speaking terms. He now boards at a Mr. Baldwin's a silversmith, lately from Dartmouth College, and lodges at the Buck Tavern. Samuel Smith has commenced a Law Suit against Dr. Noyes for publicly charging him of being guilty of perjury. The case is thus; Before Dr. Noyes had finished his Steam Engine, Samuel Smith had constructed one, as he said, on different principles. They both went to Washington together: each swore that he was the sole inventor, and each obtained a Patent Right. Whether or not their plans are similar or dissimilar, is not for me to decide. Impartial judges say that they are dissimilar. The affair has made a prodigious noise in the Country. Dr. Noyes has said that Judge Smith connived at the business, so the Judge is very angry, and so is William Smith. You must consider this as an imperfect statement. I do not think that the affair will materially affect our Institution. We mean to proceed steadily, as if no breaking had taken place. The Dr., as you know, is sometimes a little whimsical, amidst all his great skill and cleverness.

William Smith is building a house for his Mother, and Polly, in which "an elegant room" is preparing for Dr. Spalding. I have exerted myself to have the Circular printed and sent around the country. It is now written and Dr. Noyes has engaged to go to Herkimer today to put it to the Press. As soon as it is printed, copies will be sent on to you and Dr. Shattuck. It has been delayed too long. But as it is a subject that does not so immediately concern me, and as Dr. Noyes thinks he, only, can prepare the copy for the Press, I do not think it would have been prudent in me to have interfered in the preparation.

I shall depend on you and Doctor Shattuck to make your arrangements, and to give me timely notice. I think it probable that I shall soon write to Dr. Shattuck. I hope you will neglect no time in writing to him.

If you have anything new to communicate, send it on as soon as convenient. I will do the same. I do not wish that Dr. Noyes should know that I have written this letter to you. You see, it is written in haste. Accept my cordiality. CALEB ALEXANDER."

Happening to write on the same day with Mr. Alexander, Dr. Shattuck had many interesting questions to put.

Boston. Aug. 19, 1811. Dear Sir: Having had many concerns novel to me, but interesting in their nature, I have hitherto foreborn to make certain inquiries of you, which it is important that I definitely comprehend. The proceeds of all the medical Lectures; are they to be equally divided, or is each expected to receive what his own individual popularity may procure him? Is there any

sufficient Medical Library at Fairfield furnished with the standard elementary books, to which I could have access while giving a course of lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic? Do you expect to pass the month of Nov., in giving a course of medical instruction? My first course must necessarily be very crude. I am seriously apprehensive I shall fall far below your expectations, and dishonor my fellow laborers in the field of medical truth. I shall really repose much on your disposition to be charitable. To acknowledge the truth, my mind this summer past, has been much occupied in what necessarily produced a diversion [1] from the subject of giving lectures. The next time you are in Boston, I hope to be so situated as to invite you to become a guest during your short stay in town. Should that be the case, you will find me by calling at the Corner of Cambridge and Temple Street near the Rev. Mr. Loveitt's Meeting House.

With much respect, I am, Dear Sir, Yours etc. GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

P. S. I have recently perused a part of the translation of Corvisart [2] "Sur les Maladies du Coeur" by Dr. Gates [3] of this town, and from the examination I have already made of the merit, both of the matter and style in its present English dress, I must pronounce it a work entitled to a liberal patronage from the medical public.

Dr. Channing [4] has just returned, much improved by his European tour. His mind is well stored with the doings of the wise in medical science of the present generation. G. C. S."

[1] "The Diversion" of Dr. Shattuck was to fall in love and become engaged.

[2] Baron, Jean Louis Corvisart (1755–1821) was a celebrated physician; the right hand man of Napoleon, who was excessively fond of him. The book just mentioned owes its origin to the fact that the Empress Josephine once inquired of Corvisart, in the presence of the Emperor, to what diseases Napoleon was mostly exposed in his campaigns, whereupon he promptly replied; "To those of the Heart" (referring to Napoleon's love affairs). The Emperor turned the hint aside by saying "And you have written about diseases of the Heart?" "No" replied Corvisart; "but I will do so at once;" and this, was the promised work. Napoleon used to pull the ears of Corvisart, gently, and say: "Well my good old quack, how many people have you killed today? My battles kill off a good many, but none of them half so many as you kill in your practice." Many anecdotes are reported concerning Corvisart, but space permits only insertion of the interesting fact that he used to carry the cane of Jean Jacques Rousseau for which he paid a large price, and of which he was correspondingly proud.

[3] Dr. Jacob Gates (1774–1839), was a busy member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and wrote many medical papers.

[4] Dr. Walter Channing (1786–1876) practiced well beyond his eightieth year. After graduating at Harvard, he obtained his medical degree in Philadelphia, studied abroad, and on his return was chosen

In his answer to the questions of Dr. Shattuck which we have just read, Dr. Spalding must have asked as many, again, if we can judge from Dr. Shattuck's next letter, in which he says:

"Boston Sept. 9th, 1811. Sir: Your second arrived while I was waiting to get information respecting a system of Anatomy by Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh. Dr. Channing says he knows nothing of such a system, but told me he would inquire of Dr. Revere [1] or Lincoln,[2] who had returned more recently from Edinburgh than himself. But, he has not complied with his promise. I have called twice on Dr. Revere with a view to satisfy your inquiries, but unfortunately the Dr. has both times been from home. Dr. Gates' translation of Corvisart is to be published. I have examined a part of it, which I most sincerely recommend. . . . You ask my advice respecting performing surgical operations gratuitously during the Lectures, for the benefit of the Class. My opinion is, that policy dictates such a proffer to all the poor. The question is, whether an active circulation of such a report by all the friends of the Institution would not as completely accomplish the object. If it would not, it should be advertised. The Boston Professors did attempt this, and I believe on trial they found it to answer the desired purpose.

Respecting my going to Fairfield, I should prefer commencing about the 10th or 15th of Nov. But, on that subject, agreeably to your advice I will make no decision until you may again write me. Mr. Alexander has written me. With Much Respect, I am yours etc., GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

Dr. Shattuck has just mentioned hearing from Mr. Alexander and directly afterward Dr. Spalding received from him the cheering letter next following.

"Fairfield, Sept. 21, 1811. Sir: By the last mail I received yours of the 6th Inst. Dr. Willoughby has also received his. We have

Professor of Obstetrics and Jurisprudence at the Harvard Medical School. He practiced in Dorchester and occupied a high position in the State Medical Society. His "Physician's Vacation" was an admirable record of a tour in Europe, and he was noted for early use of ether in Obstetrics.

[1] Dr. John Revere (1787–1847) obtained his degree at Philadelphia, studied abroad, and practiced for a while in Boston. He then removed to Philadelphia where he was Professor of Theory and Practice at Jefferson and finally occupied the same Chair at Columbia. He was an excellent instructor and lecturer.

[2] "Dr. Lincoln" may have been "Levi" of that name, but he is difficult to place exactly, because there have been many Dr. Levi Lincolns in Massachusetts.

conversed together on the contents. Money is very scarce. He does not know that he can possibly raise cash sufficient to defray the expense of repairing to Philadelphia. He has a very good opinion of the New Yorkers, and thinks that they are friendly to us. Sixteen days ago we had a visit from Dr. De Witt,[1] Vice President of the New York Medical College. He appeared to be highly gratified, and at Utica, he spoke in the highest terms in commendation of our exertions. In the course of the past summer several other gentlemen from New York have called to see us, and from other parts. They all appear satisfied. We are yet an infant, hardly past the obstetric machine. We want swaddling, feeding, nursing, nourishing. Your aid must be directed to keep the infant from dying. Dr. Nott[2] and his coadjutors seem to oppose us. Sometime since, I received a letter from a gentleman of the City of Washington, to receive as students his brother and son. The young men set out to come here. On their passage through Schenectady, Nott and his Sailors threw their grappling irons at the barge, and moored it and the two passengers in the Dutch Frog Pond.[3]

Suitable men are procured to have everything ready for you on your arrival. It is calculated to have you here exactly in four weeks after the 14th day of next October, which is the day that the medical course begins, as you may see by the Circular sent you.

I would suggest whether you could not make it convenient to prolong your course through five weeks instead of four. It is now a very critical time with the Institution. The more noise we make next winter, the better for us. The eyes of the whole State are fixed on this Institution. It is best to do all in our power next winter and give as good a Course as possible. We must sacrifice time and money and convenience to build up this Seminary. Remember the Quaker Sermon; "Hold on and hold out, and you shall have a dram by and bye."

Should you determine to prolong your lectures five weeks, it would be no detriment, but a great help to have Dr. Shattuck, giving his lectures one week before you end. It would, I consider,

[1] Dr. Benjamin De Witt (1774–1813) Professor of Theory and Practice in Columbia, wrote papers on "Oxygen," and delivered many orations before the learned societies of which he was a member.

[2] Eliphalet Nott (1772–1866) who was robbing Fairfield of students was graduated at Brown, preached at Cherry Valley and then at Albany, where his eloquence, piety and ability attracted so much attention, that he was chosen as the First President of Union, a position which he held for sixty years. He was world renowned as the inventor of the base-burning Hard Coal stove.

[3] The Dutch Frog Pond was Lake Schenectady near Union College. Mr. Nott actually assisted Fairfield at another time by engineering legislative lotteries for five Institutions, Columbia, Fairfield, The African Church, Hamilton, and a New York Medical School.

add much to the Celebrity of the Medical Department by leaving a good impression on the minds of the medical students, and when they dispersed home they would, unquestionably, blow the Silver Trumpet. I pretend not to dictate. You must consult your own convenience, in conjunction with the fame of our Academy.

It is calculated to have Dr. Shattuck commence his lectures in eight weeks after the 14th of next October. Of this, you will give him notice. I wish he would write me, if he has anything special to communicate. Write me yourself. You see that I am in a great haste, and your Friend, C. ALEXANDER."

Mr. Alexander's letter was followed by one from Dr. Willoughby, in which he defends his proposed visit to New York in order to prepare for his lectures.

"Newport, N. Y. Oct. 10, 1811. Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the tenth of September, and should have answered it before this, had it not been for absence from home, at the time your letter reached Fairfield. Permit me, Sir, to return you my sincere thanks for the polite manner in which you are pleased to approbate my appointment as Professor of Obstetrics at Fairfield Academy, and be assured of my best exertions to maintain your confidence and that of the Trustees who have seen fit to appoint me. The honor of the Institution shall be my primary object; whether my feeble exertions are to be crowned with success is yet to be determined. While you applaud my exertions, to improve my obstetric knowledge, you cannot approve the means: or, in other words, while I propose going to New York, you prefer Philadelphia, for two reasons; First: because the New York schools view us with jealousy; and Secondly, because they are not so competent. I cannot fully persuade myself that the first objection is correct, but am sensible of the weight of the latter, and should certainly go to Phila' rather than N. Y. if my circumstances would allow it. Although I possess property I cannot command much cash. At N. Y. I shall not be at any expense for instruction whereas at Philadelphia I should. In N. Y. I am personally acquainted with several of the professors, and am on terms of intimacy and friendship; particularly with the former professor of Obstetrics, to wit, Dr. Rogers, and the latter Dr. Hosack. I have had personal views with Doctors De Witt, Romayne, Mitchill, and Stringham[1]; they have always spoken very respect-

[1] James Sykes Stringham (1775–1817) at this time Professor of Jurisprudence in Columbia was born in New York, but died in the Island of St. Croix, where he went in search of health. He studied Theology originally, but abandoned it for medicine. On his return from medical studies in Edinburgh he settled in New York and was chosen Professor of Chemistry. He wrote chiefly on the Absorbents.

fully of our Institution, and have always pledged themselves to render us whatever assistance was in their power. I have this day, received a letter from Dr. Hosack congratulating me on my appointment as one of the professors, and promising me every assistance in his power, whether by his public lectures, or private interviews. The above, is the evidence which gives me some reason to believe you may labour under a mistake as to the opinion formed of some of the N. Y. Professors on the score of Rivalship. But, Sir, your superior opportunity in forming an opinion, would incline me strongly to give up mine and follow your dictates, if it was in my power at this time, but as it is not, I must do the best I can, and perhaps I may in future go to Philadelphia. Will you be so good as to write me in N. York, your opinion of the best writers on the Obstet: Department?

Mr. Alexander and Dr. Noyes are to advise the time when your lectures are to commence. With much respect. your Ob'd't. Ser't. WESTEL WILLOUGHBY, Jun."

A few days before setting off for Fairfield Dr. Spalding informed Dr. Shattuck of his plans and must have been glad to receive this interesting answer.

"Boston, Oct. 16, 1811. Dear Sir: I will endeavor to be at Fairfield the Wednesday preceding the 9th of December. The Albany Stage leaves Boston on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 6 O'c, A.M., and at this season of the year arrives at Albany the third day after its departure from Boston. I shall say nothing of our obligations for your kind congratulation on our marriage, but refer the exercise of that duty to the time when we shall have the pleasure of seeing yourself, with or without Mrs. Spalding, as may be the case, at our house, where you may be certain of a hearty welcome from Mrs. Shattuck and myself.

With much esteem, etc, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

Dr. Spalding spent an October day with the Shattucks, proceeded to Fairfield where fifty students attended and a number of operations were performed by him. Dr. Shattuck as before followed on, and gave his course of lectures and for a second year in succession wrote, upon his return, to Dr. Spalding who was now home again.

"Boston, January 5, 1812. Dear Sir: In consequence of an anxiety among our Fairfield Medical Students to return to their homes on or before New Year's Day, I was requested to meet the class three times a day which completed my term of giving lectures last Saturday. In so doing I gratified three fourths, and did not disoblige the remaining fourth. Respecting Fairfield, nothing

prospective has to my Knowledge yet transpired. Rev. C. Alexander sends his respects, says he shall write to you as soon as the fate of the contemplated Oneida project[1] shall be known. On the arrival of the next mail from Albany I expect to learn the result. This is certain, that General Platt[2] is engaged with great zeal in promoting the undertaking. I left this impression on their minds; that, should the Fairfield Medical School go completely down, and another more flourishing Institution be built on its ruins, we should probably feel disposed to co-operate with them; otherwise, we should retire. I collected Manter's bill,[3] and by the bearer send the amount. Two dollars of counterfeit money, which Mary Smith[4] said she received of you, I exchanged for other money, and this gives you but $10.50/100 of good money. The bills of the remaining delinquents I left with the Treasurer and send his receipt.

About an hour after your departure from Fairfield, a letter came to you by mail. Agreeably to the advice of the Hon. Nathan Smith and of Wm. Smith, I opened it to learn if its contents rendered it necessary to send it by express to you at Little Falls. Not finding any necessity for taxing you with so much expense, I retained the letter and now send it to you. A number of the printed Catalogues I now forward.

I will send you, hereafter, the outline of a College which I drew up, in which I took due care to mention your voyage to Europe at the expense of the Institution to procure Library, etc.

Mrs. Shattuck and my friends are highly gratified with your call, on your return, for which be pleased to accept the tender of my acknowledgements and likewise of my best wishes in every event that may await you. GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

A few days later an upheaval occurred in the Legislature which greatly affected the fortunes of Fairfield. Mr. Alexander wrote concerning it to Dr. Shattuck and asked him to pass the news on to Portsmouth. Judge Smith also wrote on the same day to Dr. Spalding and to Dr. Shattuck, but his letter failed to catch that week's mail. Immediately after the arrival of Mr. Alexander's letter, and one from Dr. Spalding on other topics, Dr. Shattuck wrote to this effect:

[1] The Oneida project was to obtain a College Charter for Oneida Academy, instead of Fairfield.

[2] General Jonas Platt, as a politician, Member of Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court and General of the Militia, carried everything before him.

[3] Manter, was a medical student.

[4] Mary Smith, was daughter of William, with whom Dr. Spalding boarded, in the "elegant room" before mentioned.

"Boston, Jan. 22nd, 1812. Dear Sir: Yours arrived yesterday. I rejoice at your successful prosecution of your anatomical studies since your return from Fairfield. I verily believe that at no very distant period you will not only merit, but actually enjoy the fruits of the highest reputation as an Anatomist in the United States. There is one Mr. Pons in this town who sells the plano-convex lenses adapted to the vision of those who have lost the crystalline lens. His skill in adjusting the convexity of the glass to the flattened state of the eye, and his price are alike unknown to me. This, I know, that they are usually sold at an extravagant price.

All the facilities to your removal to N. Y., within my power you may command: should opportunity offer I will send you a purchaser.

To day I received a letter signed by C. A., J. M., and J. N.,[1] apprising me of what had been done in Oneida County.

"The Corporation of the New College selected from the most influential of all parties in Oneida County and the Western District have chosen C. Alexander, President; J. Noyes: L. Spalding; G. C. Shattuck; and W. Willoughby, Professors in the Medical Department as at Fairfield; J. Montague, etc, Tutors. Gen. Platt, is understood to be at the head and the assurances of him and his coadjutors to confirm the above, when a Charter may be obtained, are so satisfactory to the instructors of Fairfield, that they have written to me."

"To morrow (15 Inst) we shall resign offices in this Academy and accept the honorary appointments."

"Dr. Willoughby was with us to day and has left in writing his acceptance. If you and Dr. Spalding concur, you will please to send in, as soon as you think proper, your resignation of the offices you now hold in Fairfield Academy, and the acceptance of the appointments in the contemplated College."

I shall delay my reply until I learn your disposition in relation to the change. Respecting resigning our offices at Fairfield, I presume you will not hesitate a moment, to declare your assent, as, after Noyes and Willoughby have left, it can be no object for us to remain. Willoughby declared his full confidence in the success of the Oneida Enterprize of Gen. Platt, and his friends became its zealous advocates. Gen. Platt, and friends, I understand, take the lead. Willoughby was of the opinion that the Trustees of Fairfield would nevermore think of re-instating the Medical Department. All these are received as Facts. What is your opinion of the course to pursue? Your answer is desired soon. With much Esteem, Your friend G. C. SHATTUCK."

[1] The initials by Dr. Shattuck refer to C. Alexander, J. Montague, and J. Noyes, whom Dr. Shattuck wished to conceal.

This letter and the reply throw light on the educational history of New York, for it is still said that "Hamilton College was founded in spite of the vicious opposition of Fairfield" yet here we see a plot to ruin Fairfield, a flourishing Academy. The Charter for a College should have been granted to Fairfield, but politics threw it as a sop to Oneida. A compromise was finally effected, Oneida Academy becoming Hamilton College, and Fairfield obtaining a Medical School with power to grant degrees.

Dr. Spalding's very sensible reply to Dr. Shattuck is undated in the copy before me.

"My Friend: Your letter of the 22nd inst., was one of the most unexpected events in my whole life and as you request an answer, soon, I shall communicate my present ideas by return mail. Taking all for granted that you communicate to me, I see no necessity for resigning our offices at Fairfield before we are officially notified of our appointments in Oneida College after it shall have been chartered. For, if ever chartered it will be at the present session of the Regents. The Trustees of Fairfield have treated me honorably. I am bound to return the same treatment to them. I accepted my office conditionally: i.e. that I should go to Europe. They have not refused complying with their part. If they should refuse I am exonerated. Another condition was, that if the School should not succeed, I should be at liberty to resign at any time. Now, if Willoughby and Noyes go off, and another school is founded with better funds, I think that Fairfield cannot succeed, and I should resign on that ground. If I should be honored with an appointment in the Oneida College, after it is Chartered, I certainly should not accept it under less favorable circumstances than I accepted the Fairfield appointment; i.e., Ticket fees, rooms furnished, a salary from the funds, and a European Voyage.

Again: as honourable treatment has been extended to me from the Fairfield Academy, and as a matter of policy too, I think that the removal of the School ought to be accomplished with the entire satisfaction of the Trustees, say, the Museum, Chemical apparatus, etc, should be bought by the Oneidas. Fairfield should be allowed the whole of the 5,000 dollar grant to defray the expenses they have been at in erecting buildings, for the accommodation of students, and every other means, to render them satisfied with the removal of the Medical School to Oneida, should be adopted.

As this is a matter of so much importance to us both, I will thank you to make me acquainted with every circumstance relative to it, that may come to your knowledge, and I will not fail to ad-

vise you of every communication that I may receive touching it. LYMAN SPALDING.

P. S. I shall write to Judge Smith in a day or two concerning a weaving machine; but shall say nothing of this."

No sooner had this letter been forwarded than Judge Smith's letter of the same date as that written by Mr. Alexander arrived.

"Fairfield, 16th January, 1812. Dear Sir: Yesterday morning, precisely at the time the quarter was to commence in our Institution, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Montague and Doct'r Noyes sent in their resignations to the Senior Trustee of this board, without having previously given the least intimation to any person here of their intention. Such an unexpected and unlooked for occurrence has occasioned no small degree of embarrassment to the Trustees. They have, however, taken such measures as I doubt not will very soon supply their places with characters at least their equal.

As to Dr. Noyes, and Mr. Montague I have nothing to say, because their resignation, sudden as it was, is not calculated to produce such immediate difficulty and embarrassment, as that of Mr. Alexander. The Transaction on his part meets the disapprobation and Censure of every one. Had he given proper notice to the Trustees of his intention to resign, so that they could have had an opportunity to procure a successor in time to meet his departure, I should have attached no blame to him; the Trustees would not; he might have gone with Honor. But the step he has taken excites resentment in all. He will go, but he leaves not a friend behind. The procedure carries with it irresistible conviction, that with his secession, he meant to draw down inevitable ruin and destruction on this Institution. But, thank God, the Trustees are spirited, the people are spirited, and I have the fullest confidence we shall yet rise superior to intrigue and treachery. By this time, you may think it necessary that I tell you where they are going. I will tell you. They are going to Clinton Academy, the trustees of which have always considered us as their rivals, and who, it seems, despair of the success of their institution, except by the destruction of OURS. A subscription is on foot here, to aid in the endowment of a College, very considerable sums will be raised, and a Petition presented to the Regents for a Charter.

I have thought proper to communicate the above to you, because I am told they intend to apply to you and Dr. Shattuck to join them, and accept Professorships in that Institution. Should that be the case, I beg you to defer an answer until you hear from me at Albany. I am Respectfully, Your Ob'd't Serv't N. SMITH."

Whilst these letters were speeding to and fro, Dr. Spalding wrote to Judge Smith concerning Mr. De Witt Clinton, and Judge Smith, ignoring the Academic Crisis, devotes his letter to an account of this great statesman and friend of Dr. Spalding, when he moved to New York.

"Albany, 6th Feby. 1812. Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st Inst, came to hand this morning. I will endeavor to answer your inquiries respecting Mr. Clinton as well as I am able, although you, as well as we here, have been deceived in the report that Mr. Clinton has been nominated. But, as such a thing may happen, perhaps the information you ask, may yet be important.

De Witt Clinton is the son of General James Clinton of the County of Orange in this State. He is nephew to the Vice President, George Clinton, and cousin to the Surveyor General. His parents and connections, originally, were not of that Class who were considered to be wealthy. He is not connected in any way with the Patroons, either of the Rensellaer or Livingstone families. He commenced his career in public life about the year 1796, and since, has been to the best of my recollection, constantly, either in the Legislature of this State or in the Senate of the United States. He has been Mayor of the City of New York (excepting one or two years) for ten years past, and he is now Lt. Gov'r of this State. Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to answer your inquiries respecting Mr. Clinton. Whether he will be ultimately nominated for President, I am doubtful. I rather think there will be no nomination made at Washington, and if this should be the case, I apprehend Mr. Clinton will stand a great chance to be our next President. This, however, is all conjecture.[1]

I wrote you a few days before I left Fairfield, but from your silence on the subject of my letter, I presume you have not rec'd the letter I wrote. It was relating altogether to our Institution, but as I presume you must have rec'd it before this, I shall say nothing on the subject than barely to state, that we are making every exertion in our power to improve the situation of our affairs, and Mr. Alexander is here, making all the opposition in his power. I shall write you in due time, of our good or ill success. I am Y'r Humble Serv't. N. Smith."

A few items from Dr. Shattuck arriving about this date make up for the reticence on the part of Judge Smith.

[1] De Witt Clinton (1769–1828) was graduated at Princeton, studied law and acted as Secretary to his Uncle, the Vice President. During his many governorships he obtained repeal of laws against the Romanists, a Charter for the first American Fire Insurance Company, and he completed the Erie Canal, which was known as "Clinton's Big Ditch."

"Boston, 16 February, 1812. Dear Sir: Yours, comprising the pith of the Hon. Nathan Smith's letter, arrived in due time for which be pleased to accept my thanks, although the same, verbatim, had previously been received, which I should have communicated to you, but from the presumption that he would write you at the same time. Dr. Noyes has just written from Albany, dilating somewhat more at large on the proceedings of the Clintonians and Fairfieldians. He says, for the Clinton College, above $12,000 have been subscribed, and that $25,000 would probably ultimately be raised by subscription; that Messrs Alexander and Hart[1] two politicians had been appointed by the Trustees to petition the Regents for a College, that he would communicate to me from time to time, the progress of their joint proceedings. From what Gov. Tompkins said about Mr. Alexander during a short interview I had with him in company with Mr. Tiffany and Dr. Noyes at Albany on my return in December from Fairfield, I think he is desirous of seeing him the President of a College. Policy, may, however, prevent his lending his influence to effect it. In haste, but with much respect, Yours etc, G. C. SHATTUCK."

The end of March brought a great bit of news from Judge Smith as the readers of his letter will admit.

"Albany, March 12th, 1812. Dear Sir: I have delayed answering yours of the 13th ult. some time longer than I should otherwise have done, in hopes of being able to give a satisfactory and conclusive answer to all your inquiries respecting College, Academies, etc, but as I see no prospect of a decision of the Regents being had in less than two or three weeks, and the possibility that a longer silence might be construed into neglect, I am induced to give you the little information I possess on the subject, and more, when I can obtain it. As to Colleges, I am of the opinion there will be none granted anywhere, this year, but I do believe we shall obtain what you thought of so much more importance to the Medical School, to wit, an Ordinance of the Regents to confer degrees on the medical students.

I have called once or twice on the Governor[2] to converse with him on the subject of your removal to N. York, but he was so en-

[1] Tiffany, Alexander and "Eph" Hart, were politicians, very active in behalf of Mr. Clinton.

[2] Daniel Duane Tompkins (1774–1835) (The Governor) was a graduate of Columbia, a lawyer and politician. He had been Member of Congress and Justice of the Supreme Court, when he was chosen Governor. The money which he personally advanced to the Government during the War of 1812 was of untold value from a military point of view. He was twice elected Vice President of the United States, but at the height of his popularity, he was accused of juggling State

gaged with company that I could not do it. I shall, however, take the earliest opportunity to converse with him and write you the results. I have seen Mr. Clinton. He says that there are not more than one or two surgeons in N. Y., of any importance, that he thinks it would be a very good place for you, but that it would take some time to gain such an acquaintance as to obtain an extensive practice. He expressed his readiness to do you all the service in his power, and said he would endeavor to get you appointed one of the Trustees of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which would give you a respectable standing at once. I shall write you again more particularly in a few days — in the meantime, I am Your Ob'd't Serv't N. SMITH."

The appointment to the Trusteeship soon arrived and proved of material benefit in obtaining for Dr. Spalding immediate medical recognition upon his arrival to the metropolis.

A few days later Dr. Josiah Noyes wrote in this triumphal tone concerning the Charter granted to Oneida Academy as Hamilton College.

"Albany, 21 March, 1812. Dear Sir: Some time since I addressed a letter to Dr. Shattuck, and being very much engaged, requested him to transmit the substance of it to you, which he informs he has done. Since that time I have thought proper not to trouble you with conjectures, knowing that I could not induce others to place the same confidence in certain measures, which I felt, myself. But, now all this is settled. Last Monday the Regents authorized the Governor to issue a Charter of a University, as soon as he should be satisfied that the funds should amount to 50,000 Dollars, including what they now have besides buildings; to be placed at Clinton; and to be called Hamilton College. Judge Smith, Doctr. Sheldon,[1] and Judge Gates [2] voted against it, all the rest for it. I came to this City before the Legislature assembled and have been here ever since. Soon after I came, I called on the Gov:, and Lieut. Gov:, and satisfied myself that they would do much for the people in Oneida Co:, but nothing for Fairfield, and they have

Money with his own, some years before. His home was seized by the sheriff, and his wife, but lately confined, was thrust out into the road with her new born infant. Vice President Tompkins fell into ignominy, and died insane. The Courts at last decreed that he had been wholly innocent. But their opinion was too late. A more villainous persecution was never known in American Politics.

[1] Dr. Alexander Sheldon (1766–1836) had long been a physician in Montgomery Co. N. Y. and was at this time Speaker of the House and one of the Regents of the State.

[2] Judge Seth Gates lived at Winfield, Herkimer County.

not deceived us. The Fairfield people have made great efforts to gain a Charter, but had we all remained there and united our exertions, we should have gained nothing. I am told, that all say that I have acted honorably, but Mr. Alexander is cursed by night and by day and I expect they will soon call on Hercules to help curse him. He is not, however, moved, having sufficient testimonials of his giving reasonable notice of his intention to leave them, unless they complied with his request. He is going home to morrow to settle his affairs at Fairfield, and to move immediately to Clinton.

A Bill is before the House for funds, has passed a second reading. The blank sum is not filled, but we are in hopes of getting 100 or 200 Thousand Dollars. There is no doubt of getting a handsome sum, as the whole business is very popular with the Legislature, and people in general. I expect to stay here till the fate of the Bill is decided, which must be in three weeks as the Legislature will rise at that time. We are daily making arrangements for the next course of lectures. As soon as the Trustees who are here and members of the House go home, a meeting of the Trustees will be called, and you and Dr. Shattuck will receive official communications, which cannot be done short of four weeks.

All the steps which have been taken meet with general approbation, and that it will be the greatest college in America, is an observation frequently made by men of good understanding. As yet, every attempt to brand any measure with the character of party spirit, has failed.

The Gov:, has repeatedly declared himself satisfied with the professors, and appears to have a high opinion of Mr. Alexander who has called on the Gov:, L't Gov:, and other officers once, twice, and sometimes three times a day, until, in my opinion, they must be a little fatigued, and will rejoice when the business is finished. Shall write you as soon as anything is done. In the meantime, would receive a communication from you: if in two weeks, at this place and after, at Clinton, in Paris.[1]

Yours Respectfully, JOSIAH NOYES.

P. S. Mr. Clinton is to be the next President of the U. S., and to unite both parties. Please to remember me to D. Webster, Esq.,[2] who I hope is rising in the scale of honor and justice and will soon become a star in the East of the first magnitude. No time for more on Politics. J. N."

[1] "Paris" may have been, at that time, one of the Counties of New York.

[2] Daniel Webster was in Dr. Noyes' Class at Dartmouth, and lived on intimate terms with Dr. Spalding in Portsmouth. Dr. Spalding's son and Webster's son continued this friendship through another generation.

It is very plain, from previous letters, that the assertions bandied about so freely by Mr. Alexander and others, that Dr. Spalding and Dr. Shattuck had joined forces with the new Medical Department of Hamilton College, had much to do with the legislative preference for Clinton over Fairfield.

Mr. Alexander also seems to have written to Dr. Shattuck much to the same effect as had Dr. Noyes, if we judge from his letter to Dr. Spalding.

"Boston, March 23rd, 1812. Dear Sir: The mail this day brought me a letter from Mr. Alexander, which informs us that a College has been chartered at Clinton under the name of Hamilton College, on condition that their present fund, amounting to 28,000 dollars is increased to 50,000. He further informs me, that the Legislature seems favorably disposed toward such an Institution; that a petition is prepared to solicit their aid; that he entertains not the least doubt of success in the application for pecuniary aid to the amount of 22,000 dollars. All this information, together with his compliments he requested me to forward to his friend Dr. Spalding.

It is quite healthy in Boston for the season, and has been ever since my return from Fairfield. The most news here, has been derived from the petty collisions among our aspiring Faculty. Hitherto, I have found no one to advise to Portsmouth for the purchase of your Establishment. Our young physicians, you know, are generally too poor to make purchases to any considerable amount. — I am, My Dear Sir, Your Obdt. Servt. G. C. SHATTUCK."

Dr. Shattuck returns to the topic a few days later and his remarks concerning the voyage to Europe are worth reading.

"Boston, March 27, 1812. Dear Sir: Yours of yesterday just came to hand. Respecting the point you are so polite as to request my opinion, I can answer little else than that much may be said on both sides. The interest of Hamilton College requires your voyage to Europe, not so much to increase your eclat as a Professor as to procure a well selected medical library, philosophical apparatus etc. I entertain little doubt that you would be liberally furnished, even the present season with the means, as Dr. Noyes writes (by the last mail) "A Bill for funds is now before the House; passed a second reading, and will doubtless pass, with 50 or 200 THOUSAND: the last sum, we hope."

Gov. T., L't Gov. D. C., and the Chief Justice have been the efficient patrons of this new University, in procuring it a Charter,

endowment, etc. All the principal men in Oneida Co. are engaged with zeal in building it up. On this, I predicate the expectation that you would be furnished the means for a voyage, but, after all, I think your interest hardly requires you to go abroad. You will lose a year by it, and, after your return your claims will be little altered in relation to the patronage of the public. A man who bears the marks of middle age, and who has furnished proof so convincing of a well directed diligence in all his labors to acquire the power of usefulness has little need of aid to his fame by the reputation of having "gone abroad."

As the friend of Hamilton College, I wish you to go abroad, as a friend to the interests of your family, I think you will be likely to lose quite as much as you will gain by the enterprise. Now is the time to improve Mr. Clinton's disposition to patronize you. To the First Chair of State he aspires. New England politics are a necessary item in the general account which places him there. The hope that you will successfully exercise your influence in directing New Hampshire in his favor, will probably give him zeal in the use of all convenient means to give you currency as a practitioner in the healing art in New York City.

On writing to Judge Smith I will improve your hint.

With unabated desires for your prosperity, I am, Dear Sir, Your Friend, Geo. C. Shattuck."

At this interesting juncture we have another letter from Judge Smith.

"Albany, 18th. March, 1812. Dear Sir: I have now to inform you of the event of the Oneida application for a College. They have succeeded in obtaining a Charter on condition they can obtain a fund of 50,000 dollars. About 13,000 of this sum they had already obtained by individual subscription. The remainder, I presume, they intend to obtain from the Legislature. I should say I doubted their success with the Legislature, but as I have been so much disappointed in the decision of the Regents, I will not pretend again to predict what may be done. I have been disappointed because from a frequent conversation with a majority of the Board, who expressed themselves against granting any Charter for a College, I did conclude there would have been none granted. But so is the fact, they had a majority of 2 in their favor. No decision has been made on the application from Fairfield to confer degrees on the medical students, and none can be expected for some time to come, for reasons which I shall hereafter mention. Whether if this could be obtained, it would be any advancement to yourself and the other Gentlemen Professors to continue at Fairfield, must be left for you and them to determine.

I have not had an opportunity to converse with the Gov., on the

subject of your removal to N. Y., but have again conversed with Mr. Clinton who I am persuaded will give you all the support in his power, and as an earnest of this I have the pleasure to inform you; that at the last meeting of the Regents, he proposed you as one of the Trustees of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in N. Y., and you were unanimously appointed.

I must tell you why I think we shall not get any decision on our Fairfield application very soon. And to give you a more correct idea of the state of things here, I will first premise that the Citizens of N. Y. presented a petition for the incorporation of a Bank, against which Gov. and Judge Spencer [1] have, as the saying is, set down their foot. But as there was no remonstrance against it, from that City, or any other quarter it passed the House of Assembly, and in Committee of the whole in the Senate, and according to the usual course would have had its third and last reading on Friday morning last; to prevent which, the Gov'r prorogued the Legislature to the 21st May next.[2] This is a simple state of facts on which as I have given no vote, I shall give no opinion. I have been confined to my room a number of days by indisposition. I will only remark, further, that the reasons given by the Gov'r are, that some attempts have been made to bribe some of the members to vote in favor of the Bank. Nothing has yet appeared to prove that any member has been improperly influenced in this way. I am, Your Ob'd't Serv't. N. SMITH.

N. B. I am in hopes to be able to return to Fairfield soon, when I shall expect to hear from you."

The whole affair remained quiet for a couple of months when we hear of it again in a letter from Dr. Shattuck, in which he announced his final determination to leave Fairfield.

"Boston, May 20, 1812. Dear Sir: Your arguments in relation to the shipwreck of my professional reputation by resigning at this moment from the Fairfield College of Physicians, have been duly weighed. On balancing all the motives that ought to enter into a consideration of this subject, a sense of duty to my friends has finally preponderated, and after deciding no time ought to be lost in making that decision known to the Trustees. Accordingly, I

[1] Judge Ambrose Spencer (1765–1848) was Chief Justice of the State. His principal Decisions were against the Bank of North America, in favor of kind treatment of the Indians and against a short term service of the State Judiciary.

[2] The Governor's prorogation was legal, but had never before been exercised. Gov. Tompkins deemed it necessary in order to prevent financial ruin by the illegal powers conferred upon the Bank of North America and which he declared had been obtained by bribery.

have sent my resignation to the Senior Trustee of Fairfield Academy. To have resigned sooner, would have been a departure from the request of the Hon. Nathan Smith, communicated last winter. To have delayed longer my resignation would have been unkindness to my Fairfield friends, as they now have none too much time to procure a successor. Not to have resigned, would have sown dissatisfaction, and distrust, among my nearest and dearest friends. These considerations will doubtless convince you, that this step is necessary on my part, and therefore reconcile you to it.

With the very best wishes for your welfare and happiness both in New Hampshire, and New York as well as in Heaven, I am Dear Sir, Your Friend, Geo. C. Shattuck."

The Legislature of New York convened again in May and decided the differences between the rival Institutions as now detailed by Mr. Alexander to Dr. Shattuck and in these words communicated to his friend in Portsmouth.

"Boston, June 24th, 1812. Dear Sir: "The Legislature of (N. Y.) this day passed an Act endowing Hamilton College with $50,000. This with their former sum, makes $100,000."

The above is contained in a letter from Mr. Alexander, of the 9th. He further writes, that on the 14th of July the Trustees meet, when Drs. N., Sp., W. and Sh., will be elected to the same places they held in Fairfield Academy. He also writes, that through misrepresentation, a medical College has been established at Fairfield, the Regents having been assured that Dr. Spalding and myself would continue our places. It has been said that you and I had written to that effect to Judge Smith, but the Trustees of Hamilton will unquestionably have the medical lectures begin next Fall.

The package by Dr. Lincoln, I sent you by stage. If I can borrow Corvisart for that purpose I will send it to you in the original. Truly yours, etc, Geo. C. Shattuck.

N. B. Do you intend to accept your place in Hamilton College?"

It is a pleasure at this point to be able, through the kindness of Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, to insert an important note which Judge Smith now wrote to Dr. George C. Shattuck.

"Fairfield, July 13, 1812. Dear Sir: I should have written you sooner but am in hopes to see you in the course of ten days. We have obtained a Charter for a Medical College with an endowment of ten thousand dollars. The Trustees will depend on you and Dr. Spalding to continue here. I will give you a particular account of everything about the premises when I see you. In haste, your sincerely, N. Smith."

And on the 20th July Dr. Shattuck wrote to Dr. Spalding:

"The Hon. N. Smith is in town. To morrow he goes to Mendon and Bridgewater, and on Friday at noon he will again be in town. Can you not be here at that time? Write me about it by next mail. The Judge says, Gov. Tompkins told him he would employ you as his family physician during his stay in New York, after your removal there. With such friends you cannot fail of success. With much respect, Your Friend, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

Dr. Spalding being unable to go to Boston, Judge Smith visited him at Portsmouth, where Dr. Spalding said to him on parting "So long as Fairfield stands by me, so long will I stand by Fairfield.

When Judge Smith reached Boston he found an important letter from Fairfield, the substance of which Dr. Shattuck sent on to Portsmouth in these words:

"Boston, July 31, 1812. Dear Sir: Hamilton College has elected Mr. Miller,[1] President, and concluded to dispense with the thought of building up a medical school, as an appendage of their University. So writes Mr. Ford to Judge Smith. My friends being irreconcilable to my absence another winter, I am forced to a decision to resign my place in the new College of Physicians and Surgeons. I give you this previous notice and accompany it with a tender of my assistance in commending a candidate for supplying the vacancy. Do you not believe Surgeon General Mann [2] will be most useful? Or think friend Willoughby, will best promote the designs of the Institution as Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick?

Write me immediately on this subject that I may make some suggestions to the Trustees on sending in my resignation. Your Friend, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

Although Dr. Shattuck had resigned from the Medical Department of Fairfield, Dr. Spalding now appealed to him to accept a Chair in the new College, independent of the

[1] Mr. Samuel Miller (1769–1850) later Professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary, may have been elected President of Hamilton, but the first President to serve, was Rev. Azel Backus (1764–1816) a graduate of Yale, an excellent teacher and a man of delightful wit. He once said of a polemical paper: "I taste no Attic Salt in that; nothing but Shad Brine."

[2] Dr. James Mann (1752–1832) declined the offer on account of his duties as Army Surgeon. He practiced earlier than this, in Boston, and later in Dedham, was an original member of the Staff of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and author of an excellent work, entitled "Medical Experiences in the War of 1812–14."

Academy, and with power to grant degrees. This admirable letter (kindly loaned by Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck) adds color to the portraiture of my Grandfather.

"Dear Sir: I can only say that I regret exceedingly the opinion of yourself and friends, that your avocations will not suffer you to visit Fairfield once more. I acknowledge that, at present, the compensation is not adequate to the output and the loss of business, but, Sir, I do really believe that this School may be made second to none but Philadelphia. If not, I will join with you in resignation. What effect has the Professorship already had on you? It has compelled you to pay close attention to your profession, to pass the whole of Cullen's "Nosology" in review, before you annually, and thereby qualifying you for the practice of your profession more than any other way in which you could have spent your time. It is the high road to fame, and usefulness. I know that my sacrifices have been great. I know that yours must be. But, show me the man who has risen to be a Prince of Physicians, while slumbering on the couch of idleness.

Soon after I came to Portsmouth, I resigned my office of Professor of Chemistry in Dartmouth, no doubt from the same motives that now influence you, with this addition, that my lectures there, had to continue three months. I soon found myself slumbering on my oars and relaxing my pursuits. In fact, so far from improving, I hardly kept pace with the others. A kind of indifference for science pervaded me: indignant I aroused, I went to Hanover to see Ramsay, I went to Philadelphia, and I planned a voyage to Europe. This change, Sir, I consider the most happy circumstance in my whole professional career.

Admit that you resign your office. Man is an indolent animal. What inducement have you then, to labor incessantly? None! Your reputation is as high as that of your contemporaries. Then, wrapped in the lap of affluence and ease, you will slumber and sleep till old age creeps upon you, when you will find yourself outstripped in the race of usefulness and fame, your opinions so antiquated as to be regarded not, and yourself a mere old Granny.

Look at the Princes, or rather, Fathers of Physic. Who have they been or who are they now? So far as my memory serves me; Teachers of Physic. Booerhaave,[1] Cullen,[2] Desault. Look at

[1] Booerhaave (1668–1738) was a Dutchman of immense learning; a great physician and writer.

[2] William Cullen (1710–1790) acted as Ship's Surgeon and practitioner in London long before obtaining a degree. He was renowned as a clinical lecturer and in the wards of the Hospitals discoursed eloquently on the common types of disease. His last years were embittered by the attacks of his former associate, John Brown of "Bruno-

Rush, Warren and Smith. What has put them at the head of the profession? Nothing but their being compelled to labor, and annually to review their profession, and incorporate with their old stock all the new improvements. Show me a man in private practice who does this, annually. He is not to be found. But, your friends say that you can do this, yet stay at home. I acknowledge this, but tell me honorably, Will you do it? No, Sir, you have no inducement. For a man to be pre-eminently great, there must be a great occasion. What made Washington great? Opportunity. You are now on the same high road to reputation that every Prince of Physicians has travelled. If you turn aside, you are lost forever. These in conjunction with those in my last letter are the reasons which ought to influence you. You can have no doubt of my wishes on the subject. The time for the commencement of the lectures is so near at hand, that no successor can be appointed in season for the next course. I therefore beseech you, on my account, if neither honor nor fame will move you, to deliver This One Course, and I will consent to any arrangement that you may then choose to make. If nothing farther, as a mere matter of policy, I wish you to withhold your resignation till the meeting of the Trustees of the New Medical College and let us see what they will do for us.

Dr. Mann, I knew had been appointed a Hospital Surgeon, but I did not know that he had been made Surgeon General. He must be with the Army by this time, and cannot be prepared for the ensuing course. I have no objection to this man, but must for want of room decline saying anything about your successor until I hear from you again. Your Friend, LYMAN SPALDING."

To Dr. Spalding's appeal Dr. Shattuck replied in a letter undated, but postmarked August 11.

"Sir: Your frankness entitles you to my warmest acknowledgments. The letter, I have exhibited to my friends, in hopes thereby to procure the acquiescence in my continuing at the Fairfield College. I have exhibited additional arguments illustrating the policy of such a course. They have surveyed the advantages of my continuing, the disadvantages of my withdrawing at this moment, and all, unfortunately for my professional career does not satisfy them that I ought to prosecute giving lectures at Fairfield. The delicate health of Mrs. Shattuck, the infirmities of age under which her Mother labors, the state of her Uncle Derby's family, he being more than seventy years old, and having been all that a kind father

nianism," but THAT is dead whilst Cullen's fame continues. Cullen made money, left his money drawer open, kept no accounts, and died penniless. What else could be expected from such loose financing!

could have been to my wife, are considerations too trying to my sensibility not to shake my resolutions in relation to retaining my place at Fairfield. The ignominy that may be thrown on my good name I must trust yourself and other friends to wipe off, that the Trustees of Fairfield academy may not feel that they have been injuriously treated by me.

Once more, I call your attention to the avowal of your feelings in relation to my successor, that I may show to the Trustees that I am not negligent of their interests. Your Friend, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

The newspapers in the Summer of 1812 printed the report that Mr. Alexander had been chosen President of Hamilton but Judge Smith wrote to Dr. Spalding to tell him the exact state of affairs.

"Fairfield, 10th Aug. 1812. Dear Sir: Mr. Alexander is not President of Hamilton College. He was unanimously chosen, but declined this merely as a stipulation to save his reputation. But the thing is well understood: they, however, pay him the price of his bad faith to us. Dr. Noyes has gone to Utica and into partnership with another physician. All idea of a Medical School is given up at Clinton. Whether Dr. Noyes would come here again, if invited, I cannot say, but his conduct has been such, and his stories so variant, that I conjecture, nothing but necessity would induce the Trustees to call him back. I made inquiry in Connecticut of Dr. Tully.[1] I find he studied with Dr. Smith at Hanover, and has since been with Dr. Silliman attending his Chemical Lectures. He is said to be a good doctor, and well educated for a Professor. Perhaps you can make such inquiry respecting him, as would be satisfactory to you; whether he would answer the purpose. Four young gentlemen have written to me expressing a wish to come to this place to pursue the study of medicine and attend lectures. I presume there will be many more. Pray let me hear from you soon. In haste, Your Ob'd't N. SMITH."

[1] Dr. William Tully (1785–1859) was licensed to practice by the Connecticut Medical Society in 1810, and after practicing in several villages settled in Albany, in 1826. About this time he was elected President of the Castleton, Vermont, Medical School, and later on Professor of Botany and Materia Medica at Yale. He had an offer of a Professorship in South Carolina, but declining it, travelled South in search of medicinal plants. His "Treatise on Materia Medica" had great vogue, as did his Fever Powders. I do not find that he ever lectured at Fairfield, but his name is often mentioned as an Orator at Medical Graduations. A recent monograph on Dr. Tully by Dr. Kate Campbell Mead of Middletown, Connecticut, throws new light on his life.

When it was finally decided that Dr. Shattuck would not lecture again, the Trustees looked about for a successor and Dr. Willoughby offered these suggestions.

"Herkimer Co. Sept. 10. 1812. Dear Sir: Dr. Shattuck's resignation is very much to be regretted. One misfortune rolls upon the back of another. The little mind, only, faints at misfortunes whilst in pursuit of a good object. I fully agree with you, Sir, that it is the professors who make the school. Unless they are competent, the School must fall. But, if there is a good choice made, I am fully persuaded that the school will flourish, notwithstanding the misfortune and bustle which have taken place (the particulars you must have learned from Judge Smith).

I am sorry that Dr. Noyes could not have been retained as Professor of Chemistry. The Trustees are not absolutely certain of any one in particular, but are calculating upon a young Gentleman from Connecticut. His name I do not recollect. He has been solicited and is daily expected in Fairfield in Company with a Mr. Hotchkiss[1] who is calculated upon as the Successor of Mr. Alexander. If he should Fail, could you not procure or recommend one to the Trustees in whom you would be pleased? They would rely much on your judgment. In lieu of a better, Dr. Hadley[2] has been talked of; the favorite pupil of Dr. Noyes, he is said to be a very accurate scholar and Good Chemist. Some of the scholars who have attended Noyes' lectures think him not a whit behind Noyes in point of Chemical knowledge.

The Trustees have not as yet obtained the Charter of the College. His Excellency, the Gov., has for some time past been at New York, so that his signature could not be obtained. He has, however, returned and the Charter will be up this week. So says Judge Smith. The Trustees will then immediately meet and issue their circulars. Private Letters and News Papers, only as yet, have promulgated the intended course of Lectures. Dr. Sherwood informs me that there has already arrived 10 or 12 Med. Students; to attend the lectures. The power of conferring degrees will operate as a pretty powerful inducement to many of the young gentlemen.

I have written to New York for an obstetric machine and some drawings, if they can be obtained. I am unwilling to attempt an-

[1] Hotchkiss is probably Hotchkin a leading clergyman in Connecticut who, however, failed to report.

[2] Dr. James Hadley (1785–1869) was Grandfather of President Hadley of Yale, a graduate of Dartmouth, a practitioner at Weare, New Hampshire and later on at Fairfield, where he lectured on Chemistry until the school fell into ruin, when he continued his labors at Castleton and at Hobart.

other Course unless I am prepared to make them useful. It is expected by the Trustees, that the Lectures will commence on the 2nd Tuesday of November, beginning with Chemistry first; and if Dr. Mann should conclude to lecture on the Theory and Practice of Physick, (as is expected at this time by some) it is thought best to have him begin with the Chemical Professor.

If Dr. Mann should not attend, your advice will be taken, and no Professor of Theory and Practice will be chosen this Fall, and in that case it will be expected of the other professors that they will make their lectures as practical as possible. If I do not commence my lectures before yours, and there should be a professor of the Theory and Practice, to commence with the Chemical Professor, I think I shall again go to N. Y., and attend their lectures 4 or 5 weeks. If you have anything new appertaining to the branch which I am to teach, will you be so good as to communicate it. With Much Esteem, Sir, Yours etc, W. WILLOUGHBY, JR."

A month later Dr. Spalding heard of heavier burdens to bear; this time from Dr. Sherwood.

"Fairfield, Oct. 12, 1812. Dear Sir: I have this morning conversed with Judge Smith and some of the Trustees on the subject of the commencement of your lectures, and it is concluded that it is best to have them begin the 4th Tuesday in November, at which time we shall expect your arrival here. I am fearful there will be no lectures given on Chemistry, or the Theory and Practice of Physick, unless you will consent in addition to your other lectures to give a course on one of these branches; though we have sent a man to New York to obtain a principal of the Academy, and other Professors, if any can be found capable. Dr. Mann, from your recommendation has been applied to, to give Lectures on Theory and Practice of Physick, but did not consent as he some expected to be wanted in Canada at the time of the lectures in Fairfield; though, it is possible he may be yet obtained. With Much Respect, JONATHAN SHERWOOD."

In spite of the dismal outlook at Fairfield and the chances that the entire School would rest upon his abilities alone that winter, Dr. Spalding informed Dr. Shattuck of his intention to set off soon, with Mrs. Spalding and had from him this charming reply.

"Boston. Undated. Dear Sir: Your last letter would have been sooner replied to, had information been obtained in relation to the inclination of a meritorious young physician to be regarded for the Chair of Theory and Practice at Fairfield. When that information is received I will write his name. Corner Cambridge and

Staniford Streets is our location where Mrs. Spalding's arrival and yours will be greeted with a hearty Welcome. The Lord prosper you. GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

Inasmuch as Mrs. Spalding could not go as planned, Dr. Spalding wrote to that effect and before starting was greeted with another laconic note from Dr. Shattuck.

"Boston, Nov. 20, 1812. Dear Sir: Yours was duly received; your articles shall all be ready for you at my house. Your name is on the Albany Mail Stage. Now, as I want much conversation with you, and as a Tavern at a late hour of the night is a cold and dreary place, I must solicit the favor of your coming direct to our house on Sunday night where a warm fireside, and those who will be glad to see you, will greet your coming with a hearty welcome: Yours, etc, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

The third course of lectures was successful after all. Fifty scholars attended, Dr. Willoughby took charge of Obstetrics, Dr. Hadley of Chemistry and Dr. Spalding of all the rest: Anatomy, Surgery, Theory and Practice, Dissections and Operations. From there he went to New York, opened an office in February 1813, at 175 Broadway, and then paid a visit to Dr. Rush in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XV.

PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, 1813–1817.

DR. SPALDING would probably have moved to Boston after his visit to Philadelphia, had he not been invited to Fairfield. Finding that the School seemed a permanency owing to its new Charter, he decided to settle in New York, because from there he could easily keep in touch with Fairfield. He had also been promised the patronage of prominent citizens, he had had large experience as a physician and surgeon, anatomist and lecturer and probably hoped by the magic of a metropolitan residence to become famous in medicine. He was now settled in New York but wishing his wife to assist him in choosing a home, he asked Dr. Shattuck to look out for Mrs. Spalding on her journey to New York. In answer Dr. Shattuck writes:

"Boston, March 25, 1813. My dear Sir: Mrs. Shattuck learns with pleasure your kind remembrances and requests the pleasure of Mrs. Spalding tarrying with her while it may be convenient for her to remain in Boston on her way to New York. You will be kind enough to inform me when Mrs. Spalding will be in Boston, and where she may be found on her arrival.

In relation to the N. E. Dispensatory Author, he is very aged, and reading lectures would be a novel employment to him. He is exceedingly deaf. Of course, conversation with him must be difficult. If a natural death in the course of a very few years is to await the institution, a Professor whose natural death may be expected soon, will best answer the purpose. But, if you desire a man whose increasing talents would shed lustre on the Institution, and contribute to its reputation you will select a younger man of greater talents, and of more popular manners. Not that Dr. T.[1]

[1] Dr. Shattuck does not name "The New England Dispensatory Author," but he was Dr. James Thacher (1754–1844) who had acted as surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. During his services he marched on foot from West Point to Portland, Maine, and thence to Yorktown, Virginia. He was at one time in charge of a Hospital with 500 patients to whom Washington paid a visit. Thacher's "Military Journal" is a work of art, and his "American Medical Biography" a superb and

is not an able man; industry has rendered him respectable in the profession, and he doubtless would readily accept such offers, as you remarked that the Trustees would tender to me.

That your blind man[1] may depart seeing and sounding the praises of Lyman Spalding, M.D., is the wish of GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

The next letter after that written by Dr. Shattuck comes with good news from Judge Smith now attending the Legislature.

"Albany, 10th April, 1813. Dear Sir: The appointments for our College have been made agreeably to the list given in your letter. The blank for President, I have filled up in my own way, with the name of Lyman Spalding, M.D., and in doing so, I am sure I have met the wishes and intentions of the Trustees.

Permit me now to solicit your exertion to procure a Principal for our Academy, as soon as possible. It is important that the School should open in May and the Principal ought to be there sometime previous, to make the necessary arrangements. Dr. Sherwood will hand you this, and can tell you everything about the situation of things at Fairfield. By him, I also send several letters of introduction to gentlemen in N. Y., which if you think it worth your while, you can deliver.

The Bill relating to Trinity Church[2] has passed both houses of the Legislature, and is now before the Council of Revision. It is expected that it will be returned with objections, if so, the only hope left is that two thirds of both houses may agree to it, notwithstanding the objections of the Council. For my own part I cannot discover any objection to the Bill, and should it be returned in that way, I flatter myself it would still become a law by the Constitutional Majority of both Houses. Col. Troup who is here as the agent of the Church, is doing all in favor of the Bill that could be done by an individual, and myself and several friends are offering him all the assistance in our power. I sincerely hope the Bill will pass, because I think it Just. I am Your Ob'd't Serv't. NATHAN SMITH."

unique collection of the lives of eminent physicians. His "Dispensatory" was a meritorious work, and his essay "On Demonologists" attracted much attention.

Dr. Shattuck calls him "AGED," but he was at this time only 59, and lived to be 90.

[1] "Your blind man" suggests that Dr. Spalding had been operating for cataract in New York.

[2] The Trinity Bill provided that $750 should be granted to Fairfield, annually, on condition that the Principal should be an Episcopalian, and that four Divinity Students should have free tuition.

When Dr. Sherwood reached home, he thus informed Dr. Spalding that the conduct of the School was to fall almost entirely upon his shoulders as in the previous winter.

"Fairfield, May 5, 1813. Dear Sir: Immediately after my arrival at Fairfield, I called on Dr. Willoughby, and made him acquainted with what I had done as to the printing of the Circulars, and of your consenting to give a course of lectures on the Institutes of Medicine, should the Trustees nominate you to fill that office. He immediately called a Meeting of the Trustees, and giving six days previous notice, a sufficient number assembled on this day, being the day appointed to form a Board for the transaction of business. After the meeting was opened, the Ballots were taken for the nomination of a Professor of the INSTITUTES OF MEDICINE and on canvassing the VOTES it was found that Lyman Spalding was unanimously chosen. The Trustees will therefore, depend on you as a Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, and Lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine. I shall, by the next mail, distribute the Circulars to all parts of the Country, and I shall spare no pains to give general Information, and do all in my power to promote the best interests of the Institution. We are much pleased with Mr. Judd's acceptance as Principal of the Academy.[1] It is the general opinion we could not have obtained a better man. He has promised to return with his family, as soon as he can settle his business in Connecticut. He has engaged to send on a Young Man to take charge of the Academy until he can arrive, himself. I flatter myself we shall have a great many students, both medical and those who will attend the Academy.

You have undoubtedly heard of the taking of Little York, the Capital of Upper Canada by our troops. On the 27th of April last Commodore Chauncy [2] attacked the town by water, and Gen. Pike [3] landed and commenced the attack in the rear. The action continued from sunrise until 2 O'clock P.M. when the British surrendered. A great number of Militia and Indians were made prisoners. Gen. Sheaffe [4] with a few of his Regulars made their

[1] Bethel Judd (1776–1860) the new Principal was Rector of St. James' Parish, New London, Connecticut, at this time. After serving as Principal of Fairfield he became President of St. John's College and Rector of St. Anne's Parish in Annapolis, Maryland. Later still he preached as a Missionary in the South and was still living in Rochester, New York in 1860.

[2] Commodore Isaac Chauncy had a long and successful career in the Navy.

[3] Gen. Zebulon Pike (1779–1813) was a soldier of great military renown, and noted as a Western Explorer, and the discoverer of Pike's Peak.

[4] Gen. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe (1763–1851) entered the British Army in 1780, and rose to be a Major General. Although defeated at

escape. There were more munitions of War and Indians, goods, than 12 vessels could bring away. We have to lament the death of the brave Gen. Pike, who with 200 of his men and 50 of the British were blown up by the explosion of powder concealed underground. We had between 2 and 3,000 men in action. I am Yours Respectfully, JONATHAN SHERWOOD."

Although Dr. Spalding had agreed to lecture on Medicine he was still looking out for a substitute and with this in view wrote to Dr. Joseph Klapp[1] who replied to this effect.

"Philadelphia, June 11, 1813. Dear Sir: Your letter would have been sooner answered had I not been prevented by the occurrence of a severe indisposition, from which I am just now recovering. For some months past, cases of fever assuming various types from the simple intermittent to a continuent, of the most dangerous kind have been unusually prevalent in the City of Philadelphia, and in South Wark. During the last two or three months I have had as much as a hundred persons under my care with different denominations of fever.

The prominent symptoms are a violent chill, in general of some hours continuance, followed by great arterial excitement, pain in the head, back, extremities, and sides, mostly in the right side. In about forty eight hours, the febrile commotion begins to subside, and in a short time is succeeded by a prostrated or sunk state of the whole system.

Your information of the Oeconomy of the Trustees of your College did not surprise me. They have acted from what they conceive to be correct motives, and no doubt think it most politic to be very moderate in the use of their funds. They may yet meet with a suitable character for the situation, who may find it convenient to afford his services on more moderate terms. At any rate, as respects myself, I must say that my professional engagements are such, that anything less than a thousand dollars, independent of travelling expenses, will be regarded as an inadequate consideration. Your Friend, etc, JOSEPH KLAPP."

Midsummer brought later news from Fairfield in the shape of letters from Dr. Hadley and Dr. Sherwood. Dr. Hadley's letter shows the lack of ready money.

Little York (now Toronto) his gallantry before an overwhelming force procured for him a Baronetcy.

[1] Dr. Klapp was graduated at Philadelphia in 1805, presenting a Thesis, with the odd title: "On the Non-existence of an aeriform function of the skin." He wrote voluminously on medical topics, and delivered an oration "On the Modus Operandi of Cold" before the Philadelphia County Medical Society.

"Fairfield, July 18, 1813. Dear Sir: I have received your papers by Mr. Judd, together with the Platinum and Thermometer-stem, for which the money shall be forwarded as soon as an opportunity may offer. The mercurial apparatus cannot be dispensed with. You will do well to purchase the mercury, and if the money can be procured, it shall be sent on. There is some probability that I shall be able to obtain the money, either from the College or from my own resources; buy fifty pounds. One roll of tinfoil will be sufficient, which in time of peace and plenty would have cost 6 or 8 shillings. I am now engaged in making repairs in the College building; the old chimney is already removed and the workmen are to begin the new one to morrow. The skylight is to be finished in the month of August. Every other repair shall be made and in due time. No means are neglected to get the advertisement inserted, according to your directions. Yours, etc, J. HADLEY."

Dr. Sherwood now tells us farther news concerning the College, and introduces our old friend Dr. Ricketson.

"Fairfield, 8 Sept. 1813. Dear Sir: After considerable exertion we succeeded yesterday afternoon in getting a sufficient number of the Trustees together to form a Board and the result of the meeting was: That the Trustees of the College purchase from the Trustees of the Academy for $4,500 the Laboratory, Museum, and Chemical Apparatus; buy half of the New Stone building and ground on which it stands and pay half of the rental to the stockholders; and that a committee be appointed to confer with Dr. Shadrack Ricketson on the subject of his taking a Professorship in the College.

The day preceding the meeting Dr. Ricketson came to my house, and attended the meeting. I told him that nothing could be done as to his giving lectures that winter, as previous arrangements had been entered into with you, and that you were making calculations to give lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physick at the next term. Next day, when the Trustees came to see and converse with Dr. Ricketson, I found that there seemed to be an opinion among them, that he would do to fill the vacancy, though no one suggested the least idea, that it would do to give him the least encouragement of giving lectures at the ensuing Term. Neither did he wish or expect it himself, since you were already elected. But, the question was asked by one of the committee appointed to confer with Dr. R., whether or not it would suit you to have Dr. Ricketson come in as Joint Professor in lecturing on the Institutes of Medicine, next winter, as it was supposed that you would wish to return to New York as soon as possible. I was directed to simply mention the thing to you by letter but, at the same time, no one had the least wish to have you enter into any such engagement

unless it would suit you better than it would to give the whole course, as the Trustees are perfectly satisfied with your election, to that office. Neither do they think of electing Dr. Ricketson, or any one else, to give lectures another year, without consulting you and getting your Opinion on the Subject. They would therefore like to know your opinion as to Dr. Ricketson. For, if he would do, he might be elected so as to give lectures after the next term. As you have some acquaintance with him, the Trustees will expect your opinion on the subject, before they give him any encouragement whatsoever.

Dr. Willoughby tells me you are wanting the use of some Books during your stay in Fairfield. I have Cullen, Darwin, Townsend, Thomas, and Rush, together with a number of periodicals, and other books. But, I have three students that will attend the Lectures and will want the use of my books, but you shall have the use of them all the time they can possibly spare them. How much of the time they can spare them, I cannot tell, but I suppose they will want them a considerable part of the time. I will, however, accommodate you as far as possible. Yours Respectfully, JONATHAN SHERWOOD."

After all these preliminaries the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York was formally inaugurated December 13, 1813, with an address in Latin, a Ball and Banquet, and an Address by the President, Dr. Spalding; the theme of his remarks being that industry would carry every man far, and that new Medical Schools would discourage quackery.

The winter term went off well, fifty two students attended, and by January 20, 1814, Dr. Spalding was in Portsmouth preparing to take his family to New York. From there, they made their way overland to Cornish, where finding his father very low, Dr. Spalding left his family and set off for New York alone. Col. Spalding died on the 27th of April, and Mrs. Spalding and the children reached their new home on the 4th of May.

I find but few letters in this year that throw light on Fairfield personages, but one from Judge Smith concerning Robert Fulton is worth inserting. It is pleasant to know that Robert Fulton and my Grandfather were introduced to the New York Historical Society at the same meeting.

"Fairfield, Aug. 24, 1814. Dear Sir: In my last letter I mentioned to you that I intended going to West Florida the ensuing Fall. My present calculation is to go from here to Pittsburgh,

and thence down the river by water, and as I understand there are Steam Boats already in operation to run regularly from Pittsburgh down, I wish to get a passage on one of them. Having been told that Mr. Fulton is a principal proprietor in these Boats, and presuming he may be able to say nearly at what time they will leave Pittsburgh, this Fall, I take the liberty to ask the favor of you to ascertain from him this fact, and to write me as soon as convenient. Your compliance will much oblige your friend, N. SMITH."

An unexpected letter at this juncture from Dr. Alpheus Greene (1787–1851) for many years a physician at Watertown, New York, throws welcome light on Dr. Spalding's character.

"Brownsville, Near Sackett's harbor, New York. Oct. 3, 1814. My Worthy Friend: In consequence of my absence from Newport when your favor arrived, I did not receive it till long after. I therefore hope you will not charge me with neglect for not giving you an earlier reply. It was very unfortunate for me that I did not receive your letter sooner, as it might have influenced my arrangements very materially, and perhaps favorably. On the death of my Father which happened in April, I found my pecuniary circumstances such as to deter me from prosecuting my studies any farther. I found myself under the absolute necessity of taking immediate and effectual measures for improving my exhausted finances. I accordingly took license, and entered on the practice of medicine, and have pursued it since the first of June, but the avails of my business are trifling indeed, so that my circumstances are very little improved.

I feel myself under infinite obligations to you for the generous proposals you have so often made me and regret sincerely my inability to accept them. I can duly appreciate the important advantages to have been derived from the situation of an assistant, in which your goodness would place me, but am unable to surmount the obstacles which prevent my turning those advantages to my own account. I feel a real pride in acknowledging your kind attention to me, and the favorable manner in which you were pleased to notice me while under your tuition.

The solicitude you manifested for my future welfare and the welfare of the class, generally, made a lasting impression on my mind. It will ever be held in grateful remembrance, while gratitude is considered a virtue and its opposite, a vice of the deepest dye.

With sentiments of the highest consideration, etc, ALPHEUS GREENE."

Just before the winter term began Dr. Willoughby showed cause for his non-attendance and made suggestions for carrying the lectures along in regular order.

"Trenton, N. Y., Oct. 9, 1814. My dear Sir: I am now on my way to Sackett's Harbor, with my Regiment. I wrote you in much haste from Herkimer, stating the necessity of my absence, and the uncertainty of my returning by the first of next month to resume my lectures: requesting you if possible to be on hand and commence your lectures on Theory and Practice, giving me an opportunity of meeting the Obstetrical Class after the close of your lectures. You will recollect, there is no ordinance regulating a preference of time to either Professor. This is left altogether to be agreed upon by the Professors themselves. I regret that there should be a necessity of changing the time, but this, I fear, is unavoidable. It is the opinion of the Commanding Officer, that we shall not return before the Fall Campaign closes. If so, I shall not be able to see Fairfield before the last of November. The prospect of a good class should stimulate the Professors to everything in their power to meet the expectations of the Scholars. There are several who are calculating to be prepared to receive a Doctorate in Medicine. Should my course ultimately fail, they will be disappointed, as in that case they could not comply with the requirements of the College. I presume, Sir, you will without hesitation endeavor to meet my wishes by being at Fairfield at the commencement of the Lectures. I had completed my arrangements so as to have spent the winter at Philadelphia, and shall not fail of going if I can return from the lines in season to give my lectures as usual.

The Officers of the Regiment are among my friends; they have confidence in me as a medical man, and will not receive a substitute. I have endeavored to make arrangements in that way, but it is in vain. There is no alternative but follow the Regiment. Be so good as to let me know your pleasure, and direct your letter to Brownsville, where we shall be stationed. I think your tour would be more agreable to come on early, as the traveling will be much better, and my being on the lines may be a convenient thing as it respects subjects. In haste, Yours Respectfully. W. Willoughby, Jun."

The last sentence in this letter suggests that Dr. Spalding was planning to visit the Army with a view of obtaining dissection material. Whether he went or not I have never discovered.

The winter course of 1814–15 was attended by sixty students, three of whom obtained a degree, the first time in the history of the School in which this had occurred. Amongst the operations performed by Dr. Spalding, I find one mentioned in a letter from Dr. Calvin Smith (1778–1839) a physician of high standing at Little Falls.

"Little Falls, Dec. 8, 1814. Dear Sir: I have a soldier under my care in this Village who received a wound in the thigh at Fort Erie, which has been ill attended to and became so bad that he was obliged to be left in this place. I find the limb must be amputated immediately to save the man's life. He is anxious that it should be done to-day if possible. If you can possibly make it convenient to come down tomorrow and perform the operation, he would be extremely glad. The U. S., will compensate you for your services. If it will be possible for you to come, if you can send me word what time you can be here, you will confer a favor on, Your Ob'd't Serv't. CALVIN SMITH."

Dr. Spalding returned to New York soon after attending to this case and practiced steadily there until it was time for another term at Fairfield in the autumn of 1815. The only material at hand concerning affairs at Fairfield during all this time is a letter written by Dr. Spalding to his wife in January, 1816.

"Dear Wife: I wrote you last week but the gentleman who promised to carry it to you did not call for it. I had also written for the same conveyance letters to each of our daughters. If no private hand offers I shall bring them myself. I was much delighted to hear that you were so well and that the repairs had been made to the house. I have written you three times by private hand, but this is the first letter by mail. By Samuel Smith I sent butter and cheese and by Dr. Willoughby some money. If you need more before I return, call on Mr. Brackett. I wish you to call the attention of the children to their lessons, and this, every day, or they will forget them. During the long afternoons and evenings I think they ought to work: knit, or make collars and wristbands for cotton shirts or cotton shirts themselves, which may as well be bought now, as next summer.

Last Sunday I went to Hasenclever Hill and amputated a man's thigh with a shoe knife and joiner's saw. I also took out the whole of the shin bone of a girl nine years old, and operated for hydrocele: all to the satisfaction of the patients, the students and myself. A pretty good day's work.

On the top of the Hill where I amputated, I found a family by the name of Page who once lived within half a mile of my Father's in Cornish. I was glad to see them as I had not seen them for twenty years.

I have just completed my course on the Institutes and Practice of Medicine, and I believe to the perfect satisfaction of every student who has done me the honor to attend: certainly, much to my satisfaction.

To morrow I begin on Anatomy and Surgery and expect to close

on Thursday the 28th, going to Little Falls that night and taking Friday morning's stage for Albany. I shall be in N. Y., as soon as the stage can carry me, which you know will depend on the roads.

I have been treated with unusual politeness; with the single exception of what arose from the conduct of the gentleman who wants to be President, I have never passed a session so pleasantly.

I shall soon be with you, I hope, to part no more.

Write to me under cover to Jedediah Rogers, Albany.[1] Exercise on horseback, and milk diet have improved my health very much.

Do not forget my love to the children. If they study well we will soon begin French. If Lyman studies well at home and in school I will bring him a new pen knife. Yours, etc., L. S."

Dr. Spalding now resigned the Professorship of Theory and Practice and was thinking of resigning the Presidency also, owing to the intrigues of Dr. White of Albany, who complained that the performance of operations interfered with his Territorial Rights. He had already won over two of the Trustees and had hopes to be chosen President if Dr. Spalding could be forced to resign. How much these intrigues had to do with the inability of the Trustees to pay the President's Salary is difficult to decide.

Soon after reaching home in 1816, he received this delightful letter from Dr. Willoughby, which although hardly germane to Fairfield affairs deserves insertion as illustrating the politics of the day.

"Washington, January 27, 1816. Dear Sir: I was pleased to learn that you left the Med. Sch., at Fairfield well pleased. I was fearful you might be troubled to procure subjects, but rejoice that not anything happened to disturb your wishes or the expectations of the Scholars. I have not heard anything directly from Fairfield since I left there, except what you write me. But I have received a letter from Dr. Sherwood, of Newport wherein he mentions that the Small Pox had broken out at F, among the Scholars, in consequence of a subject which had been procured and of which disease they supposed he had died.

I am pleased to hear that your good wife has passed safely through the perilous hour of Child bed, and that she is recovering therefrom; may the promising son live to become a Parent's blessing, and compensate abundantly for all anxiety and distress.[2]

[1] Jedediah Rogers was Captain of a Packet, on the Hudson River, and a brother of Mrs. Sally Rogers who kept the boarding house in New York in which Dr. Spalding first opened an office.

[2] The son born at this time was Edward Jenner Spalding.

I am heartily sick of my new life, as we are doing little else than wasting our time in fruitless and unnecessary debate. We have Members in abundance who believe that they are to be credited, in proportion to the noise they make, and not in proportion to the good sense offered. Mr. Randolph has occupied the floors more than 3/4 of the time for this two weeks and I deny that any one could possibly divine from his observations, the subject before the Committee for discussion. He is against the Army, the Navy, the Bank, the Manufactories, Taxation, etc., and it matters not what is before the House for consideration, he speaks of the rise and fall of Political parties, of ancient and modern History, of Profane and Divine. In short he abuses everything and everybody; Himself and his Beloved Virginia, excepted. If he is to be credited, he is the only wise and good man in the Nation. Everything went well while he dictated, but since the Government has omitted his Council, and advice, they have wandered from their true happiness, and been wilfully blind to their best interests. I have no doubt he is politically insane, and am certain that a Mad House rather than a Congress Hall should have received him. There is so much local prejudice and so many selfish views to be answered that I am fearful we shall waste away the Session to very little purpose. But, it may be, that my fears are groundless. I pray God they may be, but if I am to judge of the future, from the past, we shall not deserve well of our Constituents. Your friend, W. WILLOUGHBY JR."

The few papers which remain to throw light on the state of affairs at Fairfield show steady friction between the two Trustees who favored Dr. White for the Presidency and those who clung to Dr. Spalding. None of them, however, had any money for this last year's salary. It is true that Dr. Spalding had expressed satisfaction with the last course, but he did not know at the time of writing, that the Trustees would not be ready with his salary when he left for home.

Dr. Willoughby's letter of August helps us a little amidst this uncertainty.

"Fairfield, August 4, 1816. To Dr. Spalding. Dear Sir: Dr. Hadley has this evening showed me your letter to him in which you solicit the balance of your acct, and your not having received it given why we have been kept in a state of suspense relative to your resignation. The balance due you will be forwarded to you whenever you present your acct, for payment. Mr. Ford says he has never received any order for the payment of money, except the $200 which I paid you. You have repeatedly had my sentiments relative to your leaving the College, and it is unnecessary for me to repeat them. If you cannot consistently with your in-

terests remain, we have no wish that you should sacrifice too much to oblige us. But, one thing is absolutely necessary; that you keep us no longer in this state of uncertainty; you will, certainly have the goodness, either to forward your resignation, or a promise of your services this Fall. It is incorrect that we have a Professor to fill your Chair. Dr. White is only proposed in case of your resignation. Yours, etc, W. WILLOUGHBY, JUN."

Directly afterward, Judge Smith came to New York, promised to send the money that was due, and Dr. Spalding agreed to lecture again. But as no money was forthcoming in November he once more applied for it and received word that there was none to be procured owing to the hard times.

At this juncture Dr. Alexander Ramsay was lecturing in New York, and Dr. Spalding having several difficult cases on hand, sent him to Fairfield as a substitute and took Ramsay's lectures upon himself. Dr. Ramsay began well, wrote enthusiastically of his good fortune, and yet inside of a week later, he in some way so aroused the animosity of the entire village that he was forced to leave, unpaid. To add to the difficulty the disaffected Trustees complained in writing that Dr. Spalding had treated the School unfairly in sending such a substitute. Thereupon in his own defence he felt compelled to forward the following letter, to Dr. Hadley —

"Dear Sir: I am much mortified to think that any Trustee should have suspected my motives in sending Dr. Ramsay. His reputation as a Lecturer stood higher than that of any other man in America. Most of the physicians of this country who had been in Europe had attended him at Edinburgh. All spoke of him in the highest terms as an Anatomist. They knew nothing of his private character. He taught in Columbia in 1804, in Dartmouth in 1808, and negotiations were on foot between the N. Y. Medical College and Dr. Ramsay to lecture for Dr. Post,[1] but they could not agree on terms. Dr. Bruce[2] next took him up, and gave him a class of more than 20. In this situation I engaged him to take my place. I knew that he was "Waspish," but that he could conduct himself in the manner in which you relate, required greater

[1] Dr. Wright Post (1766–1828) lectured on Anatomy and was Professor of Surgery at Columbia. He became noted for ligating the Subclavian, and was the first to ligate, successfully, the Common Carotid.

[2] Dr. Archibald Bruce (1777–1818) established, with others, in New York, a Private Institution for Medical Instruction. He later became Professor of Materia Medica in the College of Physicians and at Rutgers. He was a particular friend of Dr. Spalding and nominated him as Corresponding Secretary of the New York Historical Society.

THIS IS THE LEAST RUINED OF THE THREE REMAINING BUILDINGS OF FAIRFIELD.
AND IS THE LABORATORY SO OFTEN MENTIONED

talent than I possess to presuppose. He had, to be sure, recently delivered lectures on Natural History, which did him but little credit; something like his talks to you on Sunday Schools, but I supposed I was rendering the College a service by sending so wonderful a substitute. As to the "Advantages" to myself, you can judge, when I say that my agreement with him was to pay his expenses out and back to Fairfield, to take his Class into my own house, to find furnished rooms for dissection for three months and to lecture to his students, daily during his absence. We did not dissect one or two subjects, but FOURTEEN. Now I ask you, or Willoughby, or anybody else in your village, what would you ask for one half of your dwelling house to become an Anatomical Theater for three months, with 14 subjects to dissect and 20 students running in and out. I should have made nothing by that arrangement, even had every farthing been paid. But, long before Dr. Ramsay returned I found the vexation of teaching publicly, in my own house, so great, that I repented of my bargain, and when I found that instead of doing you a service, he had failed to give any satisfaction, I wished most heartily that I had never sent him at all. Your Ob'd't Serv't, LYMAN SPALDING."

After Dr. Ramsay left Fairfield, the two opposing trustees petitioned the Regents to ask for the resignation of Dr. Spalding, which he declined to offer until he had been paid. He finally caused a Memorial of the state of affairs to be read at a meeting of the Regents in October, 1817; his resignation was then handed in and accepted by an unanimous vote of the Regents and all mention of the affair was ordered to be erased from their records.

With this step his legal connection with Fairfield ceased, but he remained on good terms with the majority of the Trustees, and represented the College as a Delegate to the Pharmacopoeia Conventions.

The stumbling blocks in the way of success at Fairfield were lack of money, and political intrigues.

Dr. Spalding's career in connection with the College may be summed up in this way: For six winters in succession, involving journeys of some two thousand miles, he delivered lectures on all the branches of medicine and surgery then taught, operated on a large number of patients, and carried on considerable classes in dissection. His position in connection with the college gave him a National Reputation.

With the improved finances of the country from this time on, Fairfield progressed under the guidance of Dr. White

and Dr. Willoughby, until 1839, when it went to pieces, owing to disputes concerning the division of lecture fees. The largest class that ever attended was 217, the largest graduating class 54, the entire number of graduates was 555. The notable teachers were Dr. Spalding, Dr. Shattuck, Dr. Beck, Dr. Reuben Mussey[1] and Dr. Frank Hamilton (1813–1886) United States Medical Inspector, Professor in many Colleges and best known for his works on Fractures.

I lately made a pilgrimage to Fairfield, and took a look at the lonely deserted Cross Roads, for village, the settlement cannot be called, with its old tavern, and its few decrepit houses. After the times I have just described, two buildings were added to the three of that era, but they have disappeared. All that remains of the Institution is the ruins of the old wooden Academy, the Stone Laboratory, and the Stone Lecture Hall built for Dr. Spalding. Looking at these and then at the scattered dwellings it seemed impossible that an Institution of medicine could ever have flourished there at all.

Yet, Fairfield was one of those advanced posts of civilization, arising in the history of every growing country. It was the only Medical School outside of Boston, New York or Philadelphia, and eager students flocked to it in spite of its unfortunate situation high up on a rolling hill, and ten miles from Little Falls, where it should have been originally founded, to obtain success. When Albany and Geneva increased in population, and a hospital offered a better chance for bed-side teaching, Fairfield died a natural death. Its record, however, was splendid. In recalling its early years, let us give honor to those men of New England, who endured difficulties of travel, lack of material, and small rewards, for their courageous efforts to advance the medical education of the era in which they lived.

[1] Reuben Dimond Mussey (1780–1866) was professor of Surgery in other Medical Schools than Fairfield, and both bold and fearless as an operator. He ligated both carotids, and performed innumerable lithotomies. He was a vegetarian, and the Records of the New Hampshire Medical Society show that on one occasion he was so emphatic against tobacco, that, on the spot, "several members threw away their quids." He was also fond of music, and played the Double Bass with great success. It is said of him, that he once carried his Big Fiddle from Hanover to Portsmouth, to show off his skill upon it before the Medical Society.

CHAPTER XVI.

Review of Events Between the Return from Philadelphia, and Removal to New York, 1810–13.

After this detour to and from Fairfield and New York, and which it seemed best to follow in one connected narrative, we now retrace our steps to the time when the invitation to Fairfield was received. Just then Dr. Spalding had written to Dr. Dalcho [1] for medical pamphlets, and here comes the answer:

"Charleston, So. Ca., Oct. 12, 1810. Dear Sir: I regret very much that it is not in my power to serve you in this instance. We have no medical publications in this City, except, occasionally, an anniversary Oration or rather Diary. That for the last year has been ordered by the Medical Society to be sent to you. We have little to do with the Sciences here; every one is immersed in the art of money making and even our friend Dr. Ramsay [2] feels a deeper interest in writing upon vulgar topics, to raise the cash, than in pleasing the learned few, by professional improvements. Our Society are about to publish a Volume of their Memoirs which I suppose will be ready for the press in a few weeks. Yours Respectfully, Fred'k Dalcho."

An epidemic of small pox so excited the people of Portsmouth in 1810, that they flocked to be vaccinated, but Dr. Spalding being unprovided wrote to Dr. Bigelow [3] for a supply, with this result.

[1] Frederick Dalcho (1770–1836) was the son of a German Officer, who, after the Seven Years War, settled in London, where he was born. When his father died he was taken to Baltimore to live with an Uncle, studied medicine and obtained an Army Medical appointment. When challenged to a duel he resigned from the Army, practiced in Charleston, South Carolina, established a Botanical Garden, drifted into Journalism, and in 1814 entered the Ministry. The work on which his fame serenely rests is "A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina." A tablet to his memory can be seen in St. Michael's Church in Charleston, of which he was Rector.

[2] "Dr. Ramsay" is David; not Alexander.

[3] Dr. Jacob Bigelow (1787–1879) obtained his degree in Philadelphia when Dr. Spalding was also studying there, and then settled in Boston. He was a fine draughtsman, illustrating his own "Botany"

"Boston, Oct. 25, 1810. Dear Sir: I have been prevented attending to your favor by a ride from town, and by many of my applications, elsewhere, for kine pock matter being unsuccessful. I now send you some which is quite recent. I am undergoing the preparatory starvation which is the fate of most young men before acquiring business. I trust, by the help of a little patience, that I shall, sometime, stand a chance among the crowd, and so, am quite resigned. Yours, etc, JACOB BIGELOW."

A few days later came acknowledgment from Dr. Warren of a medical paper which Dr. Spalding had sent him.

"Boston, 30th Oct. 1810. Dear Sir: I send you by the mail a copy of the Report on Petechial Fever, with our thanks for your communication on the subject. At the same time, I may take the opportunity of making my acknowledgments to you for your annual Report of Diseases in Portsmouth, which constitute important and useful documents. . . . I nominated you as an Honorary Member of our Society,[1] but the friends of Dr. S., got the start and as the law admits no more than three of each State, the other places being filled by Dr. Cutter and Dr. Tenney, the thing must rest at present. Your preparations got safe to you, I hope.[2] I would willingly have had to repack them, for the pleasure of examining them. I wrote to England a year since for a preparation of the absorbents, not having any at all, but find it impossible to get them. It is pretty important to me to have something of the kind, and if anything would induce you to part with one of yours, I would venture to make you some offer on the subject. Should you listen to anything of that sort, it would afford an opportunity of increasing the usefulness of your preparations, and the reputation of the preparer. I am Sir, with esteem and Respect, your very Humble Serv't, JOHN C. WARREN."

We may at this point introduce a new friend who was previously mentioned in a letter from Portland, Dr. Oliver Hubbard (1770–1849), who practiced in Portland, Maine, and when he was Forty, obtained a degree at Dartmouth

when issued. He served as Professor of Botany and Materia Medica in the Harvard Medical School, and as Professor of the Application of Science to the Useful Arts in the University. He was of great assistance in the Pharmacopoeia, wrote much on Botany, and was the virtual Founder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

[1] "Our Society" is the State Medical, and Dr. S. is Nathan Smith, but both Dr. Warren and Dr. Spalding seem to have forgotten that Dr. Spalding had been a member since 1797.

[2] "Your Preparations" were those of the Lymphatics made in Philadelphia, and loaned to Dr. Warren on Dr. Spalding's way home.

and Philadelphia and finally settled in Salem, Massachusetts. He now wrote from Philadelphia where he was studying.

"December 31, 1810. Dear Sir: A few days previous to our leaving Hanover, I took the liberty of acquainting you with my determination of spending the remainder of the winter in Philadelphia. I also, upon the credit of your former goodness requested the particular favor of a letter to one of the Professors, as my stay in Hanover after this determination did not enable me to obtain letters from home. Not having heard from you since being here I am induced to think you have not received my letter. As a letter from you to one or more of the Professors as you may think proper, barely to acquaint them I am known to you, will afford me much pleasure. If agreeable to you, direct your letters to them, post paid, and charge me with the postage which shall be satisfactorily adjusted at the grand day of our meeting. I am delighted with the situation in Philadelphia, and its medical advantages: so far exceeding anything heretofore, that there is no comparison. "Dr. Spalding," "Dr. Spalding," "Dr. Spalding," is all the rage here! I assure you. Yours Very Obediently, O. Hubbard.

N. B. The Medical Class is larger than at any former period. Lectures very interesting; Subjects plenty; everything relating to the Course goes on pleasantly. Dr. Perkins is here. Your presence would contribute very much to my happiness. Class 434. We passed a day in N. Y. but found their medical institution in a disordered state."

In the previous Autumn we heard of Dr. Spalding asking Dr. Bigelow for vaccine, and now the favor is asked by Dr. Bigelow. It is pleasant to see his remembrance to my Grandmother whom he had met in Philadelphia.

"Boston, Feb. 17, 1811. Dear Sir: You are undoubtedly acquainted with the old proverb, that one good turn deserves another. I sent you sometime since some kine pock matter, which I hope answered your purpose for two reasons; 1st, Because in that case your own wishes are gratified, and 2ndly, Because it will be in your power to supply me, again. As I am now sadly in want of some of the virus, for my own use, and that of some Brothers of the Pill Box, I request you would send some to me BY MAIL, as soon as possible. I cannot find any, at present, in Boston. I heard of your being in town, lately, and was sorry you did not honor me with a Call. My respects to Mrs. Spalding and Parson Burroughs.[1] Yours truly, Jacob Bigelow."

[1] Rev. Charles Burroughs (1787–1868) Rector of St. John's Parish in Portsmouth for almost fifty years, President of the State Insane Asylum, and of the General Theological Library. One of my earliest

After sending the letters of introduction requested in a former letter, Dr. Spalding received this interesting reply from Dr. Hubbard.

"Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1811. Dear Sir: For your polite letter I am very much indebted to you. My only apology for neglect in answering it, has been an apprehension that my letter would not pay the postage. I assure you, Doctor, it affords me pleasure that your visit to Fairfield has been so pleasant as you mention. I however, had been made acquainted with your School, through a young Gentleman from that Vicinity, now residing in Philadelphia. It would be vanity in me to mention the honorable things said of Dr. Spalding's Lectures. Our Lectures, you would like to hear something about. Some little difficulty during the commencement of Dr. Wistar's course, in obtaining subjects, has occasioned some delay, which will occasion him to lecture until the 10th of March. The other Professors will close, as usual, on the 4th. You will not hesitate to conclude that they have been a source of great enjoyment. I fear, however, I shall not leave the City with that satisfaction I could wish. I regret I cannot spend more time here, and extend my acquaintance with medicine a little farther. My finances will not admit of it. Dr. Rush is thought unusually brilliant this winter. He has mentioned you several times in his Lectures, as has also, Dr. Barton. Dr. Caldwell of this City has been very busy this winter as a Lecturer in opposition to Dr. Rush, endeavoring to support the locality of fever: a man of handsome talents, but something of an evil nature is lurking about him, I suspect. There have been very few operations this winter, but considerable dissection; fifty subjects. All the Professors are so in the rear that several of them give two lectures a day, and that my walks are circumscribed between the walls of my Lodgings, and those of the University. You doubtless have not forgotten your old lodgings at Mr. Carr's. Four Yankees room together; yourself and your good wife are often mentioned by them. Immediately upon reading this, you will have the goodness to commit it instantly to the flames. Yours affectionately, O. HUBBARD.

N. B. Dr. Clapp has removed to Carolina, in expectation of a handsome establishment. . . . Burn this!! 12 O'Clock. Sleepy."

After a long interval the Spring of 1811 brings a letter from Dr. Mitchill. It may be remarked in connection with

recollections is of listening as a child to "Old Burrough's" favorite sermon on "The Spirits of Just men made Perfect." In his black silk surplice, and black kid gloves he used to climb the ten steps into the pulpit and harangue interminably. A man of magnificent adjectives, he preached his erratic sermons again and again, until they were as threadbare as the sails of the Flying Dutchman.

this letter, that although these two friends had corresponded for years, they had never yet met. It would also seem from the context, that Dr. Spalding had made two visits to New York.

"Washington, Feb. 22, 1811. Dear Sir: I learn by your letter that you have again been in New York. When you were there before, I was absent on an excursion to Upper Canada. I am equally unlucky again, in being away on a mission to Congress. I hope that we shall one day meet, each other, face to face.

Your improved Bill of Mortality reached me safely, and after having been perused has been put on the file of my valuable papers of the original and scientific class. Meyer is a calculating man. Being a stockholder in the Eagle Company where he is employed, I frequently consult him at the office. I have found that he possesses a scientific knowledge of the Tables of Mortality. It is the desire of that Association to grant annuities to people, on a calculation upon lives. This would be an admirable improvement in Society. A Maid, Bachelor, Spendthrift, might for a given sum laid down, purchase a pension to a definite amount for life and be perfectly secure against squandering by executors, etc, or mismanagement by the person himself. While I was a member of the Legislative Assembly of N. Y., at Albany, last Winter, I endeavored to effect an alteration of the Company's Charter, for that purpose. But there was a disinclination to grant the request, because such a privilege involved in it an unlimited duration of the Corporation, and the Legislature was not in a humor to allow an indefinite continuance of the Charter. They are, I understand attempting it again, this Session, and I wish them success. Should they engage in this business, documents of this kind with your annual tables will be invaluable to them.

Mr. Van Renssalaer informed me a few days ago, that you had visited Fairfield Academy in Herkimer. Five thousand dollars are to be raised for the anatomical and medical department of that Institution, by the management of the "Lottery for the promotion of Medical Science," of which I am one.

For intelligence, I could write much, if I had time. A Session of Congress is always a harvest of Science for me. I have forwarded part of the collection to Dr. Miller for insertion in the Feb. No. of the "Repository," and to that I must refer you for particulars. Sam. L. Mitchill."

When Dr. Spalding as Secretary of the State Medical Society asked Dr. Nathan Smith the title of his proposed Oration to be read before the annual meeting in 1811, he received this characteristic answer.

"Hanover, April 19, 1811. Dear Sir: I received your favor by Dr. Perkins, respecting an Oration, as you are pleased to call it, which I shall deliver to the N. H. Med. S. You know what my former habits have been viz, to deliver my sentiments in as plain and simple a style as possible and, as this method has raised me to honor, and my pupils to a rank at least equal to any medical man's pupils in New England, I should not like to depart from my former practice, and especially, as what I have to say to the Society will be wholly confined to the theory and treatment of one or two diseases which can only interest medical men, I should think it highly improper to deliver my sentiments before a public audience. You will therefore advertise that the discourse (for I should not like to call it an oration, lest from the name I should be inclined to try to play the Orator) will be delivered before the Society, in their Hall.[1] Your Friend, NATHAN SMITH."

After Dr. Hubbard had obtained his degree in Philadelphia, he went to Portland, calling at Portsmouth both on going, and returning to Salem, from which place he wrote again to this effect.

"Salem, June 13, 1811. Dear Sir: Immediately upon coming to Salem I went to Boston, where I tarried a few days with friends, with an expectation upon my return to Salem that I should have the pleasure of hearing from you. I am however, so far, deprived of that pleasure.

Dr. Cutter appeared very pleasant upon the subject of my location and expressed a willingness to pay all the attention which I requested or the value of the subject required. I regret that I did not see him again, when I came through Portsmouth, and also Dr. Pierrepont. I was, however, so situated that a longer stay was impossible. I cannot say that I shall tarry here permanently.

Dr. Oliver[2] is very particular in his inquiries for your health and happiness. Had I known of your acquaintance with him, I am

[1] Dr. Smith's papers were entitled "Pathology and Physiology of Arteries," "Spontaneous Stopping of Hemorrhage in wounded Arteries," "Spontaneous Hemorrhage" and "An Artificial Joint in the Thigh Bone Cured by an Operation."

[2] Dr. Oliver and Dr. Mussey were in partnership at Salem, but Dr. Mussey had just gone to Philadelphia to walk the Hospitals.

Dr. Daniel Oliver (1787–1848) was very much in evidence in Dartmouth College for many years, being Lecturer on Chemistry and Materia Medica, Professor of Intellectual Philosophy, and at one time mentioned for the Presidency. He also lectured at the Harvard and Bowdoin Medical Schools and at the Cincinnati Medical College. He was the "Oliver" of "Pickering's and Oliver's Greek Dictionary." He was too versatile, however, to be a great man. He explored the Law and Medicine, and was planning for the ministry when he died.

seriously apprehensive that I should again have thrown myself on your favor for a letter of introduction. Will you also acquaint me, when or where, you heard from Dr. Taft?[1] I intended inquiring of him before. Somebody here, mentioned him being in the Western part of N. Y. With High Esteem, O. HUBBARD.

N. B. The report of Dr. Smith removing to Boston gains credit there and at Salem. Dr. Mussey is on a journey to Philadelphia. After attempting to read this imperfect scrawl, be good enough to commit it to the flames."

The following letter from a Fairfield pupil, whom I am unable to identify, shows the discouraging state of medical study a century ago.

"Dracut, Massachusetts, July 16, 1811. Dear Sir: Having attended two courses of Lectures at Fairfield, one of which was under your instruction, and not having opportunity to see much practice in that quarter, early in the Spring I returned to Dracut, where I have read and seen some practice with Dr. Bradley,[2] whose library is small, and whose skill depends on his experience, not his theory. There are so many physicians in the country without Libraries who pay no attention to the late discoveries in medicine, and who have lived and grown up with the people, who detest Theory, and are so prejudiced in favor of their own skill, that their aid is hardly worth soliciting. I have been supported thus far in my studies by the patronage of my parents. I would however wish to procure some privilege, under which I could progress, in the Science of Medicine, without calling on their pecuniary aid. Therefore if you could employ me in compounding or vending medicines, in making any apparatus with which I am acquainted, or in any business that would accrue to the defraying of my expenses in my pursuit, and at the same time could have an opportunity of attending to some of the theory and practice of medicine, it would be welcome. If you could favor my request and would write me a line, you would oblige your most obedient Servant, JESSE FOX."

One of the most precious autographs of the unique collection upon which this Life is based, is the following from Dr. Warren, written on the reverse of a "Proposals for Publishing a Work to be Entitled, The New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery, and the Collateral Branches of Science. Boston, Sept. 1811."

[1] Dr. Hubbard was interested in Dr. Taft, for they both received their Medical Degrees from Dartmouth in 1811.

[2] Dr. Bradley was a practitioner who was succeeded by his son Peleg, a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

"Boston, Sept. 23, 1811. Dear Sir: I enclose you the prospectus of a new work, with a view of requesting yours and Dr. Pierrepont's aid in carrying it on. It is to be the genuine Yankee, and as such, I hope you will cherish it. We shall await your communications.

I hear nothing of your going to Europe. Should you still think of it, there are two or three Gentlemen lately from the Schools, who can give you much information on the subject. I shall be happy to give you such letters as may be in my power. Please to make every body subscribe to our Journal, whom you can lay hands on. A notice in your newspapers of the Work would help us. I am with respect and Esteem, Yrs. J. C. WARREN. (Editors not to be made known!!)"

A note at this time from Professor Silliman mentions an injury of which I find no suggestion in any "Life" of that gentleman.

"New Haven, Oct. 9, 1811. Dear Sir: I ought to have thanked you, long since for your attention in forwarding your paper on Meteoric stones, and for offering to execute commissions in Europe, for me. For three months past, however, my eyes have been rendered nearly and for part of the time, wholly useless, by a dangerous explosion of fulminating powder. If I am not too late at this date, be so good as to inform me when you go to Europe, to what Country, what Capitals you propose to visit, and how long you propose to remain in each? Your Ob'd't. Serv't. B. SILLIMAN."

The year 1811 terminates with this brief item concerning New Hampshire Medical affairs.

"Epsom, N. H. Nov. 23, 1811. Dear Sir: Mr. John Carr, a student in Medicine, was at Salisbury, the 2nd Oct. last, Examined by Dr. Ebenezer Lerned and myself, Censors of the N. H. Medical Society, and found duly qualified to practice Physic and Surgery. This, is to request you to prepare him Letters Testimonial, and inform me when he may call on you at Portsmouth and receive them, at which time he will leave with you the Answers to the Questions proposed to him by the Censors, together with their Certificate of Approbation. I have never yet rec'd a Certificate of my Fellowship with the N. H. Medical Society. With much respect and esteem your Obedient Servant, SAM'L MORRILL."[1]

[1] Dr. Morrill was admitted to the Society in 1807, and officiated some time as Librarian. He was a Phillips-Exeter Boy of 1797 and survived until 1858. Although John Carr was now examined and approved for membership, he did not claim it until 1817.

CHAPTER XVII.

Last Year in Portsmouth — 1812.

The year was ushered in by the arrival of an agreeable letter from Dr. Taft, a former pupil and intimate friend of the family, of whom we have heard before as attending Ramsay's lectures at Hanover.

"Nixonton, N. C. Jany. 27, 1812. Honored Patron: I beg you to excuse me for not writing you ere this, as I render as an excuse, my not having settled myself till now. I am now in the above place, County of Pasquotank, North Carolina, a place as unhealthy as a Physician could wish, if he had any love for his own life. The Fall months are a great harvest to him, if he did not fall a prey, himself. The land is low, very level, and very rich. Therefore, the farmers are wealthy. The people are luxurious in their drinks and diet, their water is intolerably bad, which produces sad work with the intestines. The charges of physicians are very high, 40 or 50 cents per mile for travel, emetics 40c, and all other medicine in proportion. I have met with a most cordial reception among the first inhabitants of the places which I have visited; among the common people I succeed, to my mind, by endeavoring to please them with those little assiduities, which hardly ever fail to please ANY ONE. By these means and the advantages I had while under your instruction, and the intense study (which I am determined to pay) I think I shall succeed to the utmost of my wishes in point of employment. . . . I had a hundred dollars on my books before I had determined on settling here in the space of One month, notwithstanding their Winter, Spring and summer are considered very healthy, and the sickly season over before I arrived. I wrote you from Norfolk. What I wrote I know not. I have forgotten. Something was requested by way of information. I could wish you to reply to them if you have not lost the scrawl; Particularly on whom I can most depend for medicine of the first quality and honest price in N. Y.; 2d; where I could best get my books, in future. I have sent to New York for $50 worth on credit but those only which you marked. Third have the goodness Sir to give me what information you may think proper to communicate, particularly how your operation at Exeter succeeded, the Boy at N. Hampton, and the Negro Boy and so forth.

I much wish you to oblige me in one respect, and hope you will not deny me; Viz., to sell me some of your preparations. They

will be of much consequence to me, you may depend, and not only in point of sound knowledge, but also of information. I cannot make any here. The weather is too hot, even in winter. Set your own price. Only send them to me, and you shall have your money. I leave it to you, what of them to send. I know you will send those that will be of most benefit, but I beg you to send them, as you may never have an opportunity to make more, there, or at Fairfield. Send them to Norfolk by the first vessel from your Port. . . . Mrs. Spalding will please to accept my most grateful acknowledgments for the kind treatment by me received while in your house, and I hope you will, both, be pleased to consider me worthy a share of your esteem, which I will endeavor not to forfeit. Remember me to Miss Caroline, Nancy, and to Master Samuel,[1] as also to Capt. Coues, also to the children, and suffer me to subscribe myself your Grateful Pupil, and Humble Servant, CHAS. TAFT."

Dr. Mitchill's next letter shows Dr. Spalding planning to settle in New York, and receiving encouragement from his old friend.

"Washington, 27 Jan. 1812. Dear Sir: I have waited several days since the receipt of your letter, to converse with Dr. Bartlett, but he is rather too unwell to discourse on the matter of your letter, and though I visited him yesterday in his chamber I did not mention your intended removal. As to success in N. Y., there can be little doubt, that with patience and perseverance you will succeed. But I think you will find it tedious "to beat your way," as the sailors term it, against wind and tide. You will desire, of course, to figure in genteel circles, and to associate with the middle and higher classes of society. The Families of these orders are you know, pretty much bespoke already, and it is chiefly by a death, or removal, or a quarrel, that a new physician can gain admission, and knots of medical men are formed, who throw into each other's hands as much of the consultation business as they can.

For my own part, being not among the competitors for practice, I look on with a good deal of unconcern, and let them scramble and divide the spoils in their own way. . . . I know not the extent of the connection you may have formed amongst the New England

[1] Caroline, Nancy and Samuel were children of Captain Peter Coues and consequently sisters and a brother to Mrs. Spalding.

Samuel Eliot Coues (1797–1867) became a merchant and ship owner of Portsmouth, was a man of great breadth of mind, wrote a great deal for the Magazines, lectured on Philosophy, wrote a "Research into the Laws of Force," liked to argue that Newton was incorrect in his philosophy, and was an excellent conversationalist. He was much interested in the Insane, and was for many years the President of the American Peace Society.

people, and others, in our City, but, at any rate, I think you ought to calculate on being at least two or three years expending more money than you will earn. As to myself, I shall consider a man of your character and information, a real acquisition to our Society in New York, and extend to you the right hand of fellowship, accordingly.

I am glad to learn that so much good is doing at Fairfield, and it pleases me, that my Legislative Efforts to serve that Institution, during the winter of 1810, were of avail. Yours with great esteem and regard, SAM'L L. MITCHILL."

When Dr. Spalding had made up his mind to leave Portsmouth, he tried to sell his practice and amongst many offers received, I make use of a few.

Dr. Matthias Spalding of Amherst, wrote him this excellent note:

"Amherst, N. H. Feb. 4, 1812. Dear Sir: A few days since I rec'd a line from you, in which you say you contemplate a removal to the City of New York in the course of the present year; provided you can dispose of your present stand, part of your Library, Anatomical Museum, and Physician's Stock of medicine. The Stand you say, is now, or soon will be the first in the State. I never intended to make this place a stand for Life, but intended removing either to Boston or Salem. But I have no objection to remove to Portsmouth, provided you and I can agree on the disposal of your property. . . . In the First place, I have a good and I believe a well chosen Library, and as many Anatomical Preparations as would perhaps be useful to me, as I probably could dispose of mine in this place. I consider my stand here as good as any in the Country, but it is too fatiguing for me. My rides are too long and the Society of physicians is not so good as could be wished. Will you have the goodness to write me again, and tell me what the income of your practice in Portsmouth is, and what your situation will be estimated at? Also, when you would wish to leave your Situation, provided you can dispose of it to your mind? Will not our Medical Meeting be at Exeter in May, and will not that be a proper time for an interview on the subject? Please to write to me on the subject, and accept of my acknowledgments for your polite attention in forwarding to me the Testimonials of Fellowship in the N. H. Med. Society. I am, Sir, with much esteem and respect, MATTHIAS SPALDING."

The letter is endorsed, $1046 (including $100 as Work House physician and $100 for public vaccination), from which I surmise that those figures were returned to Dr. M. Spalding, as the income for 1811 of Dr. Lyman Spalding.

This bargain fell through, as did another attempt with Dr. Edmund Carlton of Haverhill, New Hampshire, a quaint and humorous physician as the chronicles tell me, fond of minute doses of medicine. He practiced in Haverhill until his death in 1838.

Dr. Benjamin Hunking (1782–1868) who finally took over the practice was an odd sort of a man, who practiced at Lancaster, New Hampshire, after graduating at Dartmouth in 1808. After removing to Portsmouth in this year, he obtained an appointment as Assistant Surgeon in the Navy and when peace was declared, he returned to Lancaster where he not only practiced medicine, but was Post Master and Judge of Probate the rest of his life. He had a tower-shaped skull like Sir Walter Scott, and was a Character.

Three of his notes concerning this affair may be put into the following shape:

"July 9, 1812. Dear Sir: My friends have long been solicitous that I should leave the most laborious business in the world or remove to a place where it could be attended to with less fatigue. I should be unwilling to obligate myself to respond to any sum till I had made a trial in the place. If at the end of a year, I should see only a bare competence, I should entirely abandon the place, rather than pay the sum you name. On the other hand, if I should think there was a tolerable prospect of doing in the course of a few years, business to the amount of $1500 or $2000, I would pay the sum mentioned in yearly payments of $200 or $300. Of the chances for such circumstances you are the best judge. Your Friend, BENJ. HUNKING."

Writing August 18, he adds:

"I think I shall so far arrange my business here as to be in Portsmouth the first of October. Nothing shall prevent except as a result of health and that is better than when I saw you last. Should it continue as good, or improve, it is my determination to remove to your place. B. H."

After declining the offer of the Anatomical Cabinet, in August, Dr. Hunking settled in Portsmouth in October, left there in the early Spring of 1813, and his office was occupied by Dr. John Thurston, formerly practising in Castine. Dr. Thurston remained in Portsmouth some years, and then removed to Newburyport where he died in 1835. His letter expressing a desire to come earlier to Portsmouth did not arrive until an agreement with Dr. Hunking had been

signed, but as it is so informatory concerning both the writer and its recipient, it shall find a place here.

"Castine, Maine, Sept. 6, 1812. Dear Sir: Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have formed a determination to leave this place, provided my prospects do not brighten in the course of three months. I have of course, busied myself in looking for a residence, elsewhere. You having informed me, that you would probably leave Portsmouth in the Fall, it occurred to me that you must leave room for a successor. Though you are not satisfied with your situation, yet as my expectations at this time are small, and would be answered by a decent livelihood, perhaps the prospects afforded by the business of the town, and the patronage of such as might be inclined to exert themselves in my favor would accomplish the object desired. If you have determined to leave, and have not disposed of your influence, which must be extensive, if it is agreeable to you, I would ask, whether, and on what terms, you would be willing to exert it in my favor. Your acquaintance with me you may think insufficient to authorize you to recommend me. I would refer you to Dr. Nathan Smith, or Dr. Noyes of Newbury.

Wishing you all the success in your scientific pursuits which your researches merit, and that you may be enabled to find a place more congenial with your views, I cannot but regret that you have been so poorly rewarded. Yours Respectfully, JOHN THURSTON."

A brief note from Dr. Mitchill shows him still remindful of his young friend in Portsmouth.

"Washington, Feb. 21, 1812. Dear Sir: I regret that before the arrival of your note, Dr. Bartlett had left the seat of Government. Finding himself too unwell to perform the duties of his station, he had obtained leave of absence for the remainder of the session. Your BILLS of Mortality have been respectfully quoted by Mr. Meyer of N. Y., in his Work, "On Insurance Upon Lives." Your Bill for 1811 contains the melancholy record of almost a fourth of the people dying with consumption. Is there no Balm in Gilead!

Yet, why not die of that disease as well as any other!! Respectfully Yours, SAM. L. MITCHELL."

Medical interest at this time was concentrated on artificial mineral waters, and as Dr. Spalding had been the leader in introducing them, he had frequent inquiries concerning their composition. I offer at this point a letter from Dr. William Thorndike (1785–1818) of Portland, Maine, which mentions the subject.

"Portland, Maine, March 28, 1812. Dear Sir: I took the liberty of writing by my friend to you, for information on the subject of

preparing artificial mineral waters. My Friend not having been so fortunate as to have the pleasure of seeing you on his return from Boston, I hope you will excuse me for renewing my request, by writing. I have conversed with Mr. Cleaveland,[1] Professor of Chemistry at Bowdoin on the subject. He is of the opinion these waters may be accurately prepared by repeatedly combining the materials which compose them. This method, however, would of necessity occupy considerable time, and likewise incur considerable expense, which induces me to ask you to point out to me the most eligible method of obtaining information on the subject. The sale for those Waters in this place would probably be very small, but as I am in the Practice of Physic, it might be of some consequence to me. If you would be so obliging as to write to me a few lines about the subject of my request, you will not only confer an obligation of friendship, but I shall feel myself in duty bound to make you ample remuneration for your trouble. With profound respect, etc, WM. THORNDIKE."[2]

Soon after his recovery from the affection which had caused him to leave Washington, Dr. Josiah Bartlett recalled the fact of Dr. Spalding's intention to leave Portsmouth, and sent him this charming note.

"Stratham, April 14, 1812. My Dear Sir: Learning with regret that you contemplate a removal to the State and City of New York, permit me, my friend to avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of my respectful esteem. Your labors in the study and practice of medicine since your residence in our vicinity have called forth the gratitude of the people and the esteem and friendship of your professional brethren. Our Society will lose the services of an able, active member and Officer, and one to whom it is beholden for many of its useful regulations. For myself, I assure you that my expectations of your usefulness in the first commercial city in the United States, alone mitigates the sorrow I feel at our loss. May you still pursue scientific truth, both theoretically and practically, and continue your beneficial career; is the sincere wish of Your Friend, JOSIAH BARTLETT."

[1] Professor Parker Cleaveland (1780–1858) was graduated at Harvard in 1799, served there as Tutor some years, and then was elected Professor of Mathematics, Natural History and Chemistry at Bowdoin. He was a very eccentric, yet able teacher and received many honorary degrees. His "Text Book on Chemistry" attracted world wide attention.

Painfully accurate as a lecturer, all of his chemical experiments were neatly planned and successfully carried out.

[2] Dr. Thorndike was appointed Surgeon's Mate in the Army, and after the War of 1812 he settled in Milford, Ohio, where he died.

A letter written at this time, by Mr. John Jackson, already mentioned as a cousin of Dr. Spalding's living in New York, gives much information concerning physicians' offices and rentals at that time.

"New York, 15th April, 1812. Dear Sir: I have this day procured for you the refusal of two Rooms, on 2d floor of a House situated in Broadway No. 197, between St. Paul's and Trinity Churches, in an eligible situation, one of which is a small bed room in front, directly over the front door leading into the house, with a sitting room back, and well calculated for a Study, and Office at the moderate rent of £45 per annum for both: to be furnished with everything needed in a decent style, say Bed and Bedding, Chairs, Tables, Looking Glass, Andirons, shovel and tongs, washing utensils, and Carpet, with a privilege of breakfast and Tea in your own room or with the family, at an addition of Three Dollars a week, optional, however, with yourself. The sitting room is a handsome square room about the size of the Sitting room in Capt. Coues' house. It is also optional for you to furnish your own rooms, in which case you can have them at £40, equal to $100. The landlady is a Widow and has 8 or 9 steady boarders, all young men in business. She appears to be disposed to accommodate on favorable and easy terms, and it is also a pleasant and agreeable Lady. I obtained the rent low, her principal object being to secure a permanent tenant for a year. If you should require but the one room on your arrival here, she will make a reasonable reduction for the other. An answer must be given in 8 days that she may not be deprived of obtaining another tenant, if any offer. My opinion is, they will suit your purpose, and you will have occasion for both the rooms, which will be ready on May 1st. Also there is privilege of the servant to answer your calls, and keep your rooms in order, and privilege of the cellar sufficient for your Wood.

I called on the landlady who is to occupy the house in which the late Dr. Miller hired apartments. She could not accommodate you without boarding in the family, and the price $500 for board and one room. The Family is Mrs. Rogers, a pleasant family. The board, I am well acquainted with, it being my last boarding house. The room that would be given you is about the same size as the sitting room before described, and on the 2d floor next adjoining the front room, with privileges that you have stated in your letter. You will not delay answering this by return of Mail, in which case I can secure the apartments here described, as the refusal is limited to 8 days. Please also say when you are coming on. Yours Respectfully, etc., JOHN JACKSON, JUN.

N. B. A few letters from some of your principal characters may be of considerable advantage in establishing yourself here. Dr.

McNeven[1] is appointed Resident Physician in place of Dr. Miller. Mrs. Rogers' is a BRICK house; the other a wooden one.

Dr. Spalding decided in favor of Mrs. Rogers', 175 Broadway, and lived there until his family reached New York, when they moved to No. 8 Fair St. (afterward Fulton), and finally to 81 Beekman St., on the corner of Cliff St., for which a rental of $500 was paid.

Dr. Wistar was also consulted concerning the proposed removal to New York, and expressed his opinion in this way.

"Philadelphia, April 18, 1812. Dear Sir: I am sorry that it is not in my power to offer you any advice or to give you any information relative to the subject of establishing yourself at N. Y., as I am altogether without information respecting the real state of the Practice of Medicine in that City. It may be observed, however, that several medical Gentlemen who are very prominent as practitioners removed to N. Y. after they had been established at other places. The late Dr. Miller was an interesting example of this kind. Dr. Osborn[2] affords a similar example. Dr. Smith,[3] one of the Professors of Anatomy, was also a stranger there.

[1] Dr. William James MacNeven (1763–1841) was born in County Galway, Ireland, and graduated at Vienna. He first practiced in Dublin and was at one time imprisoned there for political offenses, and amused himself during his detention by translating Ossian. After escaping, he served with the Irish Brigade in France, and after many adventures reached New York, where he soon obtained success in medicine. He lectured on Obstetrics, Materia Medica and Chemistry, published an American edition of Brande's "Chemistry" and was of much assistance in composing the Pharmacopœia. His "Rambles in Switzerland" were highly prized, and as he spoke German, French, and Irish, he was considered a miracle of learning.

[2] Dr. John Churchill Osborn (1766–1819) was a Grandson of Dr. John Osborn, a Harvard man of 1735, and a son of a second Dr. John Osborn (1741–1825) who served in the Colonial Wars and practiced for sixty years in Connecticut. John Churchill Osborn practiced first in New Berne, North Carolina, and then in New York, where he was elected Professor of the Institute of Medicine and Obstetrics. He owned a fine miscellaneous library and was intimate with the Literati, including Joel Barlow, whose celebrated poems he revised for publication.

[3] "Dr. Smith" was John Augustine Smith (1782–1865), a graduate of William and Mary, who studied abroad and then practiced in an obscure hamlet in Virginia. He moved to New York and prospered. He was elected President of William and Mary, but resigned, owing to an attempt to remove the college to Richmond, and returned to New York, where he served as President of the College of Physicians and

I ought not to allow this opportunity to pass without offering you my thanks for the Bills of Mortality you have kindly sent me for several years, which I assure you are most invaluable and interesting documents. I have the pleasure of sending to you by the Rev. Dr. Alden the first volume of "A System of Anatomy," with which I have been for some time engaged, and I shall be greatly obliged by your observations on the subject, with a view to the future amendment and improvement of the work. When the other volume is published, it will be a great gratification to me to send it to you. With best wishes, I am Truly and Respectfully Yours, C. WISTAR."

Dr. Nathan Smith likewise did his part in forwarding the removal to New York, and after writing to the following effect, added a Testimonial.

"Hanover, May 16, 1812. Dear Sir: I have rec'd your favour respecting your recommendations. I will most cheerfully comply with your request, but being absent from home when your letter arrived, I was absent (in his haste Dr. Smith forgets the connection of thought) and have now but a moment before the mail goes, and do not feel sufficiently at leisure to write all that will be proper and necessary for you, but will forward it by the next mail. . . . Not long since I received a package from London containing among other things a Letter from Dr. Lettsom, in which he observed you were elected a Corresponding Member of the London Medical Society, with due honors. My package was dated in March, 1810, was directed to New York, but at last came from Philadelphia to Boston, and then to me. If you have not received your Diploma,[1] please to write to me and I will cause your appointment to be published in the paper. Your Friend, NATHAN SMITH."

The Testimonial arriving by the next mail reads in this way:

"To Whom It May Concern:

This may certify that the bearer, Dr. Lyman Spalding, after completing his preparatory studies, commenced the study of

Surgeons. His quarrels with colleagues created a tremendous disturbance in medical circles, the vilest epigrams being bandied to and fro in the public press. Dr. Smith brought out an Edition of Bell's "Surgery" and was an able, but obstinate practitioner of medicine.

[1] This diploma was finally received in 1813 through the kindness of Dr. George Parkman (1791–1849) on his way home after receiving a degree at Aberdeen. He obtained from Dr. Spalding much information concerning the Maniac Hospital in New York, and utilized it for his essay, "Proposals for establishing (in Massachusetts) a Retreat for the Insane." Dr. Parkman devoted much of his time to humanitarian purposes, and as will be remembered, was murdered by a fellow physician.

medicine under my instruction and continued with me Three Years; during which time he attended two annual courses of Medical Lectures at Harvard University, where after examination he received a Medical Degree. Dr. Spalding was afterward appointed Lecturer on Chemistry in Dartmouth University, in which situation he officiated with honor to himself, and to the satisfaction of those who attended his lectures. Since that time Dr. Spalding has attended the Medical Professors at Philadelphia, where he distinguished himself in the Science of Anatomy, especially in his Demonstrations of the Lymphatic System. He has also given two courses of Anatomical and Surgical Lectures in the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Fairfield, N. Y., with great ability and success. As a practitioner of medicine and surgery he has long sustained a proud rank in his native State, having performed with Skill, all the critical and important operations in surgery, and received as the reward of merit an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Medicine at Dartmouth College, and elected Honorary Corresponding Member of the London Medical Society. From a long and intimate acquaintance with Dr. Spalding, I do most sincerely recommend him to the public as a man of distinguished merit in his Profession, and one in whom they may repose great confidence.

NATHAN SMITH, M.D. Prof. Med. and Surgery at Dartmouth College, October 9, 1812.

As summer drew on this additional news from Dr. Taft, in North Carolina, must have been welcome to his Portsmouth friends.

"Nixonton, June 22, 1812. WAR! WAR! WAR!

My respected Friend: I answer yours with the receipt of the preparations, and a number of others that I have forgotten to acknowledge before, perhaps through hurry of business. The preparations arrived in this place 2 weeks since. They were in Norfolk some time before I could get them brought here, the box having been opened and contents known to the carters going to and from this place. Some were removed. I was much disappointed in the small subject as it was an unhappy injection, being of wax. For the situation of the brain and its meninges it is excellent, for the heart tolerable, the rest of not much account. Had you sent one in which the branches of the arterial system had been happily injected, a tribble price would not have been any objection, for the weather is too variable here to make anything like an attempt in dissection, summer or winter. For the Recipes and for Dewees' "Instructions" I am very thankful, and Mrs. Spalding's remuneration for your Nocturnal Quill Driving, shall be duly attended to, though the distance is so great that I fear the sweet

Carolinians[1] will have been decomposed ere they shall arrive. I shall send them in the Fall season should I live so long.

That your patients should have the good fortune to recover their sight, and the use of their limbs, gives me great satisfaction, but that Dr. Pierrepont should desert his best friend really astonishes me.[2]

As you learn more of the Fairfield troubles, let me have them. Dr. Josiah Noyes will never answer as Professor to any Institution; he will always be a Disturbance. I wish you were in New York! for I find great difficulty in getting medicines.

My practice is more extensive than that of any other Practitioner in the County. Notwithstanding that from November to July is the most healthy part of the year, yet, I have, at very moderate chargings booked Eleven Hundred Dollars in six months from the time that I settled here. I have been quite fortunate in my patients; have had one case of Necrosis of the radius and ulna dismissed cured, and a number of small operations. Yesterday a patient was brought me bitten by a venomous beast called the mongoose, a horrible creature indeed. His fangs were driven into the ball of the great toe. I took out with a scalpel a large piece of flesh, then applied the lunar caustic, lustily. The foot having been corded: it was bitten $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours before I saw him. I saw his father this morning: the symptoms were as favorable as could be expected. My popularity here has acquired me many enemies and back biters, but many good friends. Do write me soon. Your Grateful Pupil. C. TAFT."

Portsmouth suffered from a considerable epidemic of Spotted Fever in June of this year, and an "Account," of it by Dr. Spalding having been sent to Dr. Caldwell brought this characteristic reply.

"Philadelphia, July 14, 1812. My Dear Sir: Your letter came to hand by favor of Mr. Woodward. I thank you for the hint it contained on the subject of spotted fever, but would have been more gratified as well as instructed had it gone more extensively in detail into the history of the colossal and interesting disease. I have never yet, I confess, met with such an account of it as was, by any means, satisfactory. I speak in relation, both to the history and philosophy and treatment of the complaint. Being, in our country, somewhat of a new form of disease, I feel not a little Solicitous to become, although not practically, better acquainted

[1] "Sweet Carolinians" is probably a play on the sweet potatoes of the South and Miss Caroline Coues, of whom we have already heard.

[2] Dr. Taft here goes into minute details of bitter quarrels between the leading Portsmouth Physicians, which may be omitted as they show a story on one side only.

with it. I believe it to be nothing but a modification of the same complaint to which strangers are subject in Russia and other cold northern countries, who neglect the use of furs during the winter season.

I am decidedly of opinion, that were the inhabitants of the Northern State more attentive to the character of their winter apparel; were they to adapt it more accurately to the temperature of the weather, so as not to allow themselves to suffer from the intensity of the cold, either in their houses, or in the open air; were they, I say, to pursue this course (and I am sure nothing would be more easy) I am persuaded that Bonapartean Evil, the Spotted Fever would be less frequent and less fatal. This disease is to your winters, precisely what the yellow fever is to our summers. Intense heat, only, produces the latter and intense cold, the former. The operations of the extremes of these two (heat and cold) on the human system, is much more assimilated than is commonly supposed. In fact, it appears to be almost the same. So absurd is the doctrine setting forth that the one is a stimulant, the other a sedative! There exists, however, this difference, and it is altogether in your favor, that it is much easier by artificial means to protect the body from the cold of winter, than the heat of summer. Were not this the case, I think it probable, that Russia, Norway, etc., would be as subject to the Spotted, as the West Indies are to the Yellow Fever.

You ask, what, medically speaking, we are doing in this City. I answer: Nothing! Nothing, I mean, towards promotion of the medical literature of our country. For at least six months past, so completely nauseated have I been with the sycophancy and subserviency of our physicians to the dogmas of a certain character,[1] whose name I will not, because I need not mention, that I have, during that period abandoned medical reading as well as writing, and amused myself with polite and classical literature.[2] It is likely, however, that the winter will bring me back to my former habits. Your Obedient Servant, CH. CALDWELL.

P. S. How do you and your neighbors bear the two greatest national calamities that Heaven could inflict on us British hostilities and French Fraternity! Are we not cursed even beyond the measure of our sinning? If not we are deeply gone in iniquity, indeed. C. C.

N. B. Pray, what is gone with our friend Clapp? He promised to write to me, but since he left the City I have neither heard from

[1] The "Certain Character" was good Dr. Rush, whom Dr. Caldwell detested for his success, and for the admiration universally expressed for him.

[2] Caldwell's "Polite Literature," was a "Life of John Smith," and a "Life of Commodore Barry."

To the Honble William Eustis Esqr
Secretary at War.

Sir

The undersigned presuming that on the invasion of Canada an additional number of Surgeons will be required, begs leave, in that case, to volunteer his services his country his professional services for one campaign.

The undersigned is also authorized to tender the services of his friend Mr Wm E. Longdon, as a surgeons mate. Mr Longdon is a young gentleman of good talents and acquirements and well qualified for the office.

Portsmouth July 28 1812

Lyman Spalding

OFFER OF SERVICES FOR THE WAR OF 1812:—RARE AUTOGRAPH OF DR. SPALDING

him or of him. In case of your correspondence with him, make known to him, the unimpaired state of my Good Wishes. C. C."

It may here be said that during the War of 1812, now raging, Dr. Spalding offered to the Government his services as well as those of his pupil, Dr. Langdon, for duty at Fort Constitution, or for the proposed invasion of Canada. Dr. Spalding also offered his services to Governor Tompkins, in New York, in 1814, but I do not find that either offer was accepted.

It is pleasant once more to come across the news from Dr. Noyes of Newbury, as exhibited in two brief notes arriving at this time.

"Newburyport, July 19th, 1812. Friend Spalding: I had the pleasure of receiving your letters and request for Morgagni. But not, till it was too late to send the books that day. They are not yet packed, but to morrow I intend to pack them and send them. It is long since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, and now the pleasure is much alloyed by hearing that you suffer by the war. Pray, how does Mrs. Spalding and the little ones? Are they frightened? If so, invite them to come to Newburyport, for John Bull will not venture over our bar, though his friend Old Davy has got Fort Joseph fast in his locker. Besides, we have voted, that "The seas are his own," so that he will have enough to do to stay and keep possession, unless, now and then he may find leisure to visit such wicked democratic open-mouthed harbours as yours. But, for us why, I tell you, Sir, we have our peace, beforehand! and our pious Governor has issued a Proclamation for us to pray that the whole State may be hidden till the danger has passed! What a pity that your residence has not been on this side of the N. Hampshire line! Then, might you have had a hiding hole, too, without disgrace: or that you should not like us have coaxed John Bull, have stroked his dew lap or have kissed his feet. . . . Be kind to Morgagni: shelter him from all the horror and depredation of war — remember, that he, as well as yourself are the old friends of Yours, etc., N. Noyes.[1]"

[1] Dr. Noyes is here alluding to the British fleet lying threateningly off Portsmouth, with its wide open river, whilst the Bar at Newbury kept it at a distance. "Davy Jones" is a nautical Myth, with a "Locker down below," and Fort Joseph was an earthwork, now submerged by the ocean. Caleb Strong, the pious governor, opposed the War, wrote Proclamations advising the people to pray against it, and refused to call out the Militia for National Purposes, though willing to use it for home defense. Morgagni (1682–1771) was a famous Italian anatomist: and a profound and profuse writer on pathology and anatomy.

Dr. Noyes continues in a facetious way on August 23.

"Friend Spalding, how do you do? You never were such a sober Mill-Horse-ical kind of an animal as myself who could content myself with one crib and the same cart all the year. But you, you must go capering and kicking all about the country, even to the land of the Mohawks, while my paths are so well trodden as never to puzzle me in the dark. Well; say you, and what happiness can the same dull routine afford you? Ask the mussel or the snail! ! And if you cannot translate their language, read once more Goldsmith's "Village." I must confess that my affection never soars so high as a Genius or a Species, but must have one individual object on which to fix and vegetate.

Friend Spalding; ambition is a meteor-flame, a will o' the Wisp, that lures us from happiness, and then plunges us headlong from some precipice or sinks us in the mire.

Pursue your own propensities and I will follow mine. Hence it will follow, that you will come to Newburyport whenever you wish to see, Yours, NATHAN NOYES."

Dr. Noyes nevertheless soon proved that he had ambition, like others, and was glad to accept, in 1813, the Professorship of Theory and Practice left vacant at Dartmouth by Dr. Smith.

Whilst looking about for a purchaser for his practice, Dr. Spalding must have been pleased to get this clue from Dr. Warren.

"Boston, Sept. 6, 1812. My dear Sir: In coincidence with your request, I mentioned your propositions to my friends here. The only gentleman who has thought much of the subject, is Dr. Burge,[1] a very promising and well educated young man, but he has not funds at his disposal, and thinks of settling somewhere in the neighborhood of Amherst. I wish that you had favored us with some of your communications for our Journal, not because we were deficient in matter, but wish for variety. The thing has succeeded better than could be expected; the whole impression of the first N^{o} was sold and the printer could have issued a second edition if he had enterprise.

We are anxious to discover whether the public sentiment is in favour of a careful selection of the best European articles; reviews, etc., or whether the work is preferable in its present state. The

[1] Dr. Benjamin Burge (1782–1816), a medical graduate of Harvard, acted first as Tutor at Bowdoin, and received from that College an Honorary degree in 1815. He then practiced briefly at Vassalboro', Maine, but declining health drove him to Hollis, New Hampshire, where he died from tuberculosis.

former plan would be a great saving of labour. — Our Medical School is delivered of Professor of Theory and Practice, and principally by his own exertions, for, sure, never man laboured harder to sink and debase himself. We shall now have a little comfort, whether we have success, or not. The College of Physicians business is at an end,[1] and its projectors in general contempt. The plan never can be revived by the same men, unless the State should sink into a worse Democracy than ever.

The death of Dr. Miller in New York induced me to believe you would accelerate your departure for N. Y., but not hearing from you I have supposed you might relinquish the plan. At any rate, I shall be glad to do whatever is in my power. Should you sell your books and Preparations I should be desirous of being informed of it.

Please to give my compliments to Mrs. Spalding, and believe me With Great Regard, Your Friend, JOHN C. WARREN."

An interesting paper now at hand is a Circular of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, upon which the Secretary of the Board of Trustees has written a letter which verifies the promise made to Dr. Spalding by Governor Clinton, as may be recalled from the Fairfield Chapters.

"September 23, 1812. Dear Sir: When Dr. Lerned was here, he showed me a letter from you in which mention was made of your intention to move to this place: This I had before supposed from the circumstance of your being appointed a Trustee of our College. As this is the case and you probably take an interest in the success of our Institution, I have taken the liberty of sending you one of our Circulars, and enclosing one to Dr. Lerned, not knowing his address. Yours with Due Respect, J. AUG. SMITH."

This circular outlines the approaching session, and names as lecturers, Dr. De Witt, Smith, Hosack, Mac Neven, and Mitchill.

A brief note from Mr. Bill Barnes, here, throws a little light on family history.

"Claremont, Sept. 24, 1812. Sir: I am favored with an opportunity at this time to write to you by the Rev'd Mr. Ballou,[2] and have the pleasure to inform you that I and my family are all in health, and that your Father and Maam were at our house within

[1] "The College of Physicians" in Boston was for a while a threatening rival to the Harvard Medical School.

[2] "Mr. Ballou": Rev. Hoseal Ballou a celebrated preacher first in the Baptist and afterwards in the Universalist Denomination. For many years he preached daily, all over New England, and was at this date on his way to Portsmouth where he settled permanently. He lived until 1852, active to the last day of his 82d year.

a few days, and Sanford[1] came to day. So that I think your relations and friends about us are all well. I hope these lines will find you and your family all in good health, and prosperity. Your sister, and Eunice in particular wish to be remembered. Your sister says she is fixing a square of flannel which your children are to have part of, if by your means or ours we can get the flannel to them. With respects your sincere friend, BILL BARNES."

When it became definitely known that Dr. Spalding was leaving Portsmouth, his friends came forward with many testimonials, one of them taking the form suggested by Dr. Bartlett of Stratham:

"My Dear Sir: Being absent when your billet was left at my former dwelling, I did not see it till the Monday following. Being on that day at Exeter, Gen'l Peabody suggested the propriety of a number of Medical Gentlemen uniting in presenting you our testimonial of respect for your talents and industry in the Profession, and regrets for your proposed removal from our vicinity, which suggestion met with my cordial approbation.

Not at this time recollecting any who resided in or near to the City of New York, to whom you are not known, yet perhaps a letter to you which may (as you shall find occasion) be shown to any who may be acquainted with me, either personally or by reputation, might be of some use; therefore I take the liberty to write you, accordingly. Yours with Respect. JOSIAH BARTLETT."

The testimonial presents the departing physician in a flattering light as a leader in Medicine and is signed by:

Ammi H. Cutter, James H. Pierrepont, Josiah Dwight, Joshua Brackett, Joseph Tilton,[2] Josiah Bartlett, Joseph Goodhue, Nath'l Peabody,[3] Sam'l Tenney,[4] and William Cutter.

[1] "Sanford" was Dr. Spalding's nephew, and "Eunice" Mr. Barnes' sister.

[2] Dr. Joseph Tilton (1744–1838) of Exeter served as surgeon during the Revolution and practiced over sixty years in Exeter.

[3] "General" Peabody (1741–1823) of Exeter, also, "the only physician who ever practiced from a County Jail as his Residence and Office," studied medicine with his Father at Plaistead, New Hampshire, and began practice when he was but 18 years of age. During the Revolution he served as Adjutant General of New Hampshire, from which office his title originated and clung to him for life. He was very capable, but extravagant in his mode of life, contracted debts which he could not or would not pay, and was thrown into jail by his creditors; living there for years. He was, however, permitted to see his patients, there, or at their homes, at certain hours daily. He was a charming man of great promise but small fulfilment.

[4] Samuel Tenney (1748–1816), an original founder of the New Hampshire Medical Society, a Harvard Graduate of 1772 and a surgeon in

The undersigned Physicians and Surgeons in New Hampshire have been for many years acquainted with Doct Lyman Spalding, and have frequently seen his practice in Physic, Surgery, and Midwifery; and not from our own particular knowledge only but from the high reputation he has sustained in New Hampshire as a Gentleman, as a Physician, Surgeon, and Accoucheur, we are highly gratified in having this opportunity to testify our high opinion of his superior knowledge skill and practice in the various departments of his profession

And in doing this, we only express the united opinion of all those who have been so fortunate as to obtain his advice and assistance when afflicted with disease.

Amos B Cutler
James H. Pierpont
Josiah Dwight
Joshua Brackett

Joseph Tilton
Joseph Burbank
Jon'a Goodnow
Nath'l Peabody
Sam'l Dennis
William Cutter

COMMENDATORY LETTER TO DR. SPALDING FROM HIS PORTSMOUTH, STRATHAM AND EXETER MEDICAL FRIENDS

Provided with these and many other letters of introduction, Dr. Spalding went on to Fairfield, in November, 1812, and after the close of his lectures in January, 1813, settled in New York. He soon obtained a living practice, was elected a member, censor, and Secretary of the New York County Medical Society; as well as member of the State Medical Society and corresponding Secretary of the New York Historical Society, in which position he recommended Honorary Membership for many of his friends in various parts of the country.[1]

Soon after taking up his residence in New York, Dr. Spalding received an introductory letter from Dr. Caldwell to Mr. Bunner, a New York merchant, and as giving some idea of Caldwell's style it is worth placing here.

"Philadelphia, March 1st, 1813. Dear Sir: In compliance with your request I take pleasure in transmitting you the enclosed letter. Mr. Bunner will be prepared to receive you by a letter I have addressed to him bearing date contemporaneous with the present. He will avail himself of opportunities to make you known to a circle of acquaintances and friends from whom I flatter myself you may ultimately derive advantages more solid than mere civil speeches and empty professions. In my letter to him, respecting you, I have said many things which I could not have expressed in a note to be delivered by yourself. To all my literary and professional friends in New York, I believe you are already known. On the present subject, therefore, my business will be completed, when I shall have added, which I do with perfect sincerity, my wishes for your success and happiness in life. CH. CALDWELL."

the Revolution, settled finally in Exeter, New Hampshire but did not practice any more. He served as Member of Congress and Judge of Probate, for several years, but devoted his energies chiefly for Temperance, and literature. His most noted paper was "An Account of the Dark Day," of May 19, 1780, when in the midst of unclouded sunshine and without any eclipse of the sun, the air darkened as if at midnight, the planets came into view, and animals, birds, beasts and humanity, expected this to be the End of the World.

[1] The most beloved of these was Horace Binney (1780–1875) who was graduated at Harvard in the same year in which Dr. Spalding obtained his degree and like whom he wished to study medicine. His mother, however, had married, for a second husband, Dr. Marshall Spring of Watertown, who dissuaded Binney from medicine. The result of this decision was to throw him into the law, in which he became a shining light at the Pennsylvania, and American Bar.

Dr. John Redman Coxe also sent on an introductory letter to John Stevens (1749–1838), who lived at Hoboken, and used to come over to the City in his self-invented boat, first propelled by horse- and then by steam-power and finally by the screw propeller which Mr. Stevens discovered. He first suggested the use of submarine armor for war vessels and was also the first to take a Steamboat outside of Sandy Hook on an ocean voyage to the Delaware River. Dr. Spalding and his family often visited Mr. Stevens at his elegant house at Hoboken.

Perhaps the most important of all the letters which Dr. Spalding carried was one from "Sir John" Wentworth, to Hon. John Jay of New York, and Dr. Spalding's autograph account of its destination is worth inserting at this place.

"New York, March 10, 1813. Dear Sir John: Gov. Jay [1] living 50 miles from town and being much indisposed this winter, by the advice of friends, I called on his son, Peter A. Jay, Esq.,[2] who lives in town, and was introduced to him. I gave him your letters Sir, with assurances that I would visit his Father as soon as he should have recovered from his present indisposition. Mr. Jay was kind enough to say that he would carry me with him, the first time he should visit his Father. Mr. Jay is a very influential man, and has already shown me much attention. I feel myself much obliged by the very handsome manner in which you spoke of me, and I hope, Sir, that I have not trespassed the rule of etiquette, in delivering the Father's letter, to the son.

With best respects for Mrs. Wentworth, I have the honor to be yours, L. SPALDING."

Another letter forthcoming at this time shows Dr. Spalding thoughtful in inviting one of his old friends now in Washington, to make him a visit in passing through New York on his way home.

[1] Hon. John Jay (1745–1829), a kind friend to Dr. Spalding, was a Great American. He served America well; in the Continental Congress, as Minister to Spain and to France; as Governor and Chief Justice of New York.

[2] Peter Augustus Jay (1776–1843), his illustrious son, was private secretary to his Father when Ambassador in Europe, received many honorary collegiate degrees in his long official career, was noted as a lawyer, and officiated as Recorder of the City of New York and served on the Board of Health for many years.

Mr. John A. Harper thus declines the invitation:[1]

"Washington, Feb. 21, 1813. Dear Sir: I had the honor yesterday to receive your letter which contained your card and a polite invitation to visit you upon my return to New Hampshire. Should I make any tarry in New York, I would not excuse myself were I to neglect so friendly an invitation. But, apprehend that the anxiety to see my family from which I have been so long absent will deprive me of the pleasure of seeing a friend whom I have for a long time held in high estimation. The citizens of my native State will regret the loss which they sustain by your removal. In common with them, I join in affections and best wishes for your future prosperity and happiness.

With High Respect and Esteem, Your Sincere Friend, JOHN A. HARPER."

Nor did Dr. Spalding fail to inform Dr. Smith of his settling in New York, writing to him at Yale where he had established a Medical School and from which place he now writes concerning medical license, hemorrhage and nosology.

"New Haven, Undated but Postmarked March 7, 1813. Dear Sir: Respecting the law of this State you wish to see, I have sent you a copy of the laws of the State which goes to establishing the Medical Institution, and the laws made by the Hon'ble Board of Trust, intended to be in force one year. You will perceive that the laws of the State in the copy which I send you, refers to a previous law respecting licensing Physicians. The amount of that law, is that no person who shall enter the profession after it was enacted shall have the privilege of law to collect debts which accrue for his medical services.

Respecting the case of hemorrhage to which you refer, it happened in a child or boy about six years of age and came on without any previous sickness. The first appearances of the disease were small spots on the skin of a livid colour, and were really extravasated blood. His gums were affected in the same manner and a slight scratch on his foot produced a considerable ecchymosis. And, he had bled from the nose a little, before I saw him, but was otherways well and following his usual play out of doors. I gave

[1] John Adams Harper (1779–1816) was Post Master in his native village of Meredith Bridge, New Hampshire, before he came of age, made rapid progress in law and politics, and whilst in Congress delivered two important speeches on "War Supplies," and the "Yazoo" (Georgia) "Claims." Failing health put a rapid end to a most promising career.

bark and elix Vitriol. The next day the bleeding came on and continued till I checked it with a dose of opium. I then continued the Bark and in lieu of the Vitriol gave alum. The next day he bled again from the nose till I was called. The third time I checked it again with opium. I still continued to give bark and astringents, but the bleeding came on the next day and continued to bleed till I called, accidentally (as the family considered him so far gone that they did not send for me). I checked it the third time with opium, and then continued to give him two full courses of opium every 24 hours till he had recovered. He took some tonic medicines, but I considered the Opium as having the principal effect on the diseases.

As for your plan of nosological arrangement, I have mislaid your letter on that subject, but if I recollect rightly it was to take up the subject alphabetically. That would make the arrangement like the arrangement in a Dictionary, if I comprehend it. I have not given the subject such attention as to enable me to decide positively on it. But, I had a thought to arrange diseases according to the part of the body in which they were seated, or in such order that those in the same class, should have some points of similarity between them. But I recollect that when I read your letter, a whimsical idea came into my head which was, that if we arranged the diseases alphabetically, we might arrange the Materia Medica in the same order, taking the two columns; place all the names of disease beginning with "A" on one side, and for their remedies, all medicines beginning with the same letter on the other.

Thus:	Cancer	Cut out.
	Hydrophobia	Hydrargyrum.

But this is all Stuff. I do not pretend to condemn the plan till I have it more fully explained. Perhaps there may be reasons for it and advantages that have not yet occurred to me.

I will, when I go to Portsmouth, attend to your patient according to your request. I have had considerable operative business since I came to New Haven, and have agreed to perform another operation for the artificial joint in the thigh, about the first of April next. I think my former experience in that case will help me in this. I shall create a new apparatus to secure the limb after the operation, such an one as has never been seen before. I am with sentiments of Great Esteem, Yours, NATHAN SMITH."

A letter of the same date from Professor Silliman of Yale mentions his Chemical Course as lasting from October to June at a fee of $16, and another on Mineralogy of less duration with a fee of $6. It would seem as if Dr. Spalding had inquired concerning these fees with a view to establishing similar courses and prices at Fairfield.

During his leisure hours in New York, Dr. Spalding translated some of the "Experiments" of Le Gallois,[1] and offered them to Dr. Warren for his journal. In replying to the offer Dr. Warren writes in March, 1813:

"Dear Sir: I acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of your very friendly letter, and am gratified with your situation and agreeable prospects. The offer of Le Gallois' "Experiments" I thank you for, and should be highly pleased to possess that part you have translated, provided it be more particular than what is inserted in page 203 of Vol. 1 of our JOURNAL. If you will examine that, and having determined the point, send me the translation if you so conclude, I shall feel obliged, as I have felt much interest to see his experiments more at large than in the Report of the Institute. I am with great Esteem your friend, J. C. WARREN.

P. S. We made a fine absorbent preparation this winter, and having got into the way of doing it, shall make more soon."

The medical world was startled in the Autumn of 1813 by the rumor that Dr. Caspar Wistar had resigned the Chair of Anatomy, at Philadelphia, and Dr. Spalding, believing the report to be true, immediately offered to Dr. Dorsey, dean of the Faculty, his services during the vacancy and until a successor should be chosen. His hopes were, however, disappointed on hearing to this effect from his correspondent.

"Philadelphia, Oct. 21, 1813. Dear Sir: The report concerning Dr. Wistar is entirely without foundation, and to counteract the tendency of such a story to spread, I have directed a publication in two of your papers. Dr. Wistar has returned from his country-seat to the City, in perfect health. At least, he is fully as well as I have ever known him to be. He had some symptoms in the Spring, indicative of Pneumothorax, but they have now subsided completely. Yours with Esteem, J. W. DORSEY."

When Dr. Spalding learned from Dr. Nathan Smith, that he was on his way to Hanover, he asked him to call at Cornish and see Colonel Spalding, and inquire concerning

[1] Julien Jean Cæsar Le Gallois (1770–1814) was a noted French Physiologist who was proscribed during the Revolution, but came off with his life. His appointment to the Bicêtre in Paris brought him much fame, and his "Experiments on the Principle of Life" were considered the most remarkable ever made by a Frenchman. Poor fellow, owing to domestic troubles he committed suicide by dividing the crural artery.

his health. To this Dr. Smith attended, and on reaching New Haven wrote to this effect to Dr. Spalding, then in Fairfield.

"New Haven, Nov. 16, 1813. Dear Sir: On my way to New Haven I called to see your Father and read your letter to him. His disease was not what you supposed it to be. It was not the Diabetes, but incontinence, depending on a disease of the kidneys. I am now in New Haven and have commenced my surgical courses in the New Medical Institution. We have about forty pupils. . . . Last Summer, you wrote me an account of a man in New York who made anatomical preparations, particularly of the Eye and Ear. I wish you would, on the receipt of this, write me and give me directions, so that I may be able to find him. The Faculty of Yale College have requested me to obtain this information, as it is proposed to apply to him for some of his preparations. . . . I conclude from your proximity to the seat of War operations, that you may be able to give us some account of what has become of our Army, which seems to be lost in the Canada Woods, as we have not been able to hear a syllable from them for many weeks. I am, with unabated good wishes for your Prosperity, Your Friend and Servant NATHAN SMITH."

We have now reached the year 1814, which may be opened with a note from Dr. Bigelow.

"Boston, Feb. 13, 1814. Dear Sir: If your City affords any kine pock matter at the present moment, you will greatly oblige me by enclosing some to me, by mail, as it seems at present to be asleep here. We have no medical news. You seem to be destined at New York to become the rivals of Philad'a, provided your forces should ever be permanently united. Have you any new coalitions on foot? any medical discoveries or improvements? Or any new publications coming up or old ones dying?

I have been trying my hand at Botany, the last year. It was a ground unoccupied by physicians, and to me, affords a pleasant pursuit. I remain your Friend, etc., JACOB BIGELOW."

Amongst his Portsmouth friends, no one was dearer to Dr. Spalding than Jeremiah Mason (1766–1848), who was graduated at Yale and first practiced at Walpole. He then moved to Portsmouth, where he and Webster dominated the Bar for years. Mason was regarded as next to Chief Justice Marshall in his knowledge of the Law. He was at this time in Washington, and Dr. Spalding knowing his

fondness for pictures invited him to stop in New York on his way home and inspect Delaplaine's Gallery.[1]

Judge Mason replied in part:

"Dear Sir: On my return home I intend to spend some days in New York and I will then surely see, with you, the paintings of which you so kindly enclose a catalogue. I should also like to be a purchaser of some of them, if not already sold, and if the prices are not beyond the reach of my finances. I am Dear Sir, Truly Yours, J. Mason."

One of Dr. Spalding's best friends, first in Philadelphia and later in New York was the Rev. James Milnor (1773–1845), Rector of St. George's in Beekman Street, near Dr. Spalding's home. He was born a Quaker, but left his sect, studied law and became an active Pennsylvanian politician. As a member of Congress he opposed the War of 1812, made many speeches against it, and in one of them so bitterly offended Henry Clay that a duel was imminent for a while. Mr. Milnor was a society favorite, and was dining with President Madison when Lieutenant Morris burst into the room with the captured flags of a British Frigate. Mr. Milnor finally retired from politics, entered the Episcopal Ministry and officiated first in Philadelphia and then in New York, where he became the friend and patient of Dr. Spalding. I find from his pen two brief notes in one of which he mentions the death of an old acquaintance, and in the other makes a Present.

"Philadelphia, March 16, 1814. Dear Sir: Previous to the unfortunate death of Rev. Mr. George Richards, several of us exerted ourselves to relieve those necessities, which, as well as mental uneasiness, combined to sink him into a despondency that resulted as I presume you know in suicide. Immediately after that event farther measures were taken for supplying the immediate needs of the family and a liberal contribution for the same purpose is now going on in the different Lodges of the City, under such auspices as to promise a sum sufficient for present objects as well as to carry them back to Portsmouth, where it is their intention to go in two or three months, as I understand from this time. I am, Dear Sir, your Obedient Servant, James Milnor."

[1] Joseph Delaplaine (1774–1824), of English descent, was first a bookseller in Philadelphia and later a collector of paintings by Sully and Benjamin West. He edited "Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans," invited Dr. Spalding to insert within it his portrait, which was finally painted in miniature by Rembrandt Peele, and a copy of which forms a frontispiece to this LIFE.

The other note, undated, from "St. George's Rectory," says:

"My Dear Doctor: I regret on examination of my resources, together with future demands upon them, that I cannot, now, make it convenient to accommodate you with the proposed loan, but I beg of you to do me the great favor of accepting the enclosed sum as a small acknowledgement for your very kind medical attentions to me and to my family. Your Obedient Servant, JAMES MILNOR."

With these letters Dr. Spalding's first year as a bachelor in New York ended and he now made plans to bring on his family from Portsmouth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Four Years in New York Previous to the Proposal for Establishing a National Pharmacopœia. The Barber Family. "The Institutes of Medicine."

Finishing his Fifth Course at Fairfield in January, 1814, Dr. Spalding as we have seen went to Portsmouth to complete arrangements for removing his family to New York. As it seemed dangerous to go by water, owing to the British cruising along the coast, an overland journey by way of Cornish was planned. He then returned alone to New York by way of Albany where he met Capt. Jedediah Rogers with whose "Aunt Sally" he had been boarding in New York. Soon after his arrival there, Capt. Rogers wrote this letter.

"Albany, March 30, 1814. Dear Sir: Your trunk, and small box together with letter containing $10 and three Notes, I rec'd (from Fairfield) the next morning after you left Mr. Cundy's. I have collected $37 50/100 on them. I shall be in N. Y., next week, and will pay it over to you. I know of no friend going down this morning, or would enclose it to you. We are not in the habit of hazarding our own money in the letter box. If, however, in the next Boat any person is going I will send it to you. I send you the trunk and box by this morning's Boat "The Paragon." — I have made inquiries relative to the Stage, agreeable to your requests. The Stage leaves Brattleborough every Saturday and arrives in this City on Sunday and puts up at Mr. Cundy's Hotel. If Mrs. Spalding should come this way, we should be very happy to have her stay with us, until she should be disposed to leave. There will be no Steam Boat until Tuesday following her arrival in this City. If she comes this way, Mr. Cundy will give direction where we may be found, and I assure you, I will endeavor to render her as comfortable as possible while here. Be so good as to give our most affectionate respects to Aunt Sally and Family. Your Ob'd't Serv't., Jed. Rogers."

Two weeks later Dr. Spalding wrote a long letter to his wife then in Claremont, New Hampshire, visiting the family of Mr. Bill Barnes. Part of this letter is sentimental and omissible, the rest reads to this effect.

"New York, April 18, 1814. My dear Wife: Mr. Rogers has been in town with his wife's half sister, Miss Reed. I was very attentive to her for two reasons: that she might repay it to you in Albany and because she is a fine unaffected girl. Mr. R. says they shall insist on your staying with them, and that with pleasure he will get up a party to the Cohoes Falls. Desire him also to introduce you to some passengers on board the Boat who are acquainted with the beauties of the picturesque scenery which abounds on the Hudson, and who will point them out to you.

I think I have been the means of $100 being collected in the Universalist Parish in this town for Mr. Richard's children as also a farther sum in the Lodges. I shall take possession of our house the 27th, but shall board and lodge at the Washington Hall till the 4th of May when I shall expect to see you. I shall endeavor to be on the wharf when the boat arrives but if anything should prevent, give your baggage to a porter and walk to 8 Fair Street. If anything should prevent your leaving Claremont on the 29th, you will write to me, immediately. You will not forget, that at Brattleboro', on Sunday Morning, you will take the Albany stage. Before you take leave of my aged Father see that he is supplied with those little stores which I have already named to you. Commend me to him: he always has an interest in my prayers, and bid him for me a final last Adieu! If convenient, let the children see him. I am Yours, L. SPALDING."

A few days later Colonel Spalding died; and the family started off on their way to New York, arriving early in May, and establishing themselves in Nº 8 Fair Steet.

The arrival of a letter from Dr. Bigelow in February seems to have excited a study of Botany by Dr. Spalding, and happening to discover some unknown seeds, he wrote to inquire their species. Failing an answer from Dr. Bigelow, he wrote to Professor Peck, who soon satisfied his inquiries.

"Cambridge, 22 April, 1814. Dear Sir: I am sorry that Dr. Bigelow has not communicated your note to me, as it would have shortened by two months, your state of uncertainty respecting the article you kindly enclosed to me. The fruit of the Camphor Tree is a one celled berry and contains a single seed which has TWO lobes. The fruit of the Sassafras, which is of the same family (Laurus) will give you a correct notion of that of the Camphor Tree. Your inclosure is a capsule divided internally into three cells by delicate membranous partitions, but NOT opening with 3 valves and is what Botanists call Capsula Coriacea; The seeds; numerous, crowded in each cell; and angular from mutual pressure; and have but one lobe. It is the capsule of Amomum, and is the

true Cardamomum Minus, of the Apothecaries: tho' what are found in some shops by this name are of a very slender form and may be a variety, or even another Species of the same genus. Whoever first pronounced this, the fruit of the Camphor Tree, might not intend a fraud, but he was egregiously mistaken. Still, as the seeds appear sound, they shall be planted, and I may be gratified to have a few plants of this beautiful and aromatic genus to remind me of your kind attention. I am, Dear Sir, your obliged and Ob'd't Servant, W. D. Peck."

We may judge from the message now arriving from Dover, New Hampshire, that Dr. Spalding had occasion to make use of his friend Dr. Dow of that place concerning some deeds of land.[1]

"Dover, July 20, 1814. Dear Sir: The Recorder has attended to the object of your request, a statement of which he has sent you. He handed me the Deed several days ago, and placing it in a place of safety, being out of sight, I forgot the circumstances of my having it, and have kept it by me 5 or 6 days, for which I hope I shall find excuse. Relative to the land, you had best advise your friend to dispose of it with all possible speed, for if the deed bears any kind of mark of the Real consideration, he has probably given 4 times as much as any uncultivated land in the Miserable town of Benton, is worth.

Relative to business we jog on in the old style, practice enough and poor as the deuce. Healthy, except measles, which are sometimes fatal.

Dr. Greely[2] moved out of town to East Kingston the place of his nativity; a Dr. Taylor[3] here: how he will sprawl I know not. Dr. Greely leaves the place with a reputation, and with the regret of his employers.

Relative to old Portsmouth, we stand medically in statu quo. Our little medical Society, of which we consider you the Father begins to flourish. Portsmouth gentry Growl, because Dr. Spalding has left them. I tell them, that apathy in the feelings of people is a poor reward to merit in a physician. I want you to write me as

[1] Dr. Jabez Dow (1776–1839) was a physician of great renown for a small place like Dover. His mansion on Silver Street, still standing is well worth visiting. He was a sturdy, firm, and loquacious practitioner of the old school, and ordered his patients about a good deal. He wrote a readable paper "On Hydrophobia," and his name figures constantly on the records of the State Society.

[2] Dr. Jonathan Greely was an educated man who eeked out a small medical income by teaching Greek and Latin.

[3] Dr. Taylor is unknown.

often as you can find it convenient. Nothing would give ME greater satisfaction than a regular correspondence. Yours, etc., JABEZ DOW."

Just before setting off for Fairfield in the Autumn, Dr. Spalding received a letter which introduces to us an extraordinary Family, with all of whom Dr. Spalding was intimately acquainted: the Barbers of West Claremont, Fairfield and Maryland.

Rev. Daniel Barber (1756–1834), the father of the writer of the letter was at one time Rector of an Episcopal Church, in Schenectady, and then in West Claremont close to Cornish where the Spaldings lived.

His son, Virgil Horace Barber (1782–1847) also became an Episcopal Clergyman and when a vacancy arose in the Principal's Chair, at Fairfield, owing to the resignation of Rev. Mr. Judd, Dr. Spalding recommended him for the place. This position he accepted and removed to Fairfield where he not only served faithfully, but he amazed the villagers by talking Latin to his wife and growing children.

After a year or two Mr. and Mrs. Barber happened to be reading aloud a "Novena of St. Francis Xavier," and were so much influenced by the doctrines inculcated, that they, with their five children embraced Catholicism and ultimately induced the Reverend Daniel Barber and his wife too, to follow their example, so that at one conversion nine souls "Went over to Rome." Young Mr. Barber as we shall soon see, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and ultimately the entire family died in Conventual Life, in Maryland and elsewhere, as Fathers and Sisters of the Church.

The letter which introduces us to this family follows here:

"Fairfield, Oct. 23, 1814. Dear Sir: Enclosed I send you the order on the Treasurer of Trinity Church, as I proposed when in N. Y. I wish you would represent to Mr. Clarkson, the great accommodation it will be to me if he will advance what is due for the whole year.[1] If it would be convenient I would have you inform Mr. Swords, that Dr. Sherwood wants 2 or 3 copies of Parkhurst's "Greek-Hebrew Lexicon";[2] also 1 doz. of Main's "Introduction,"

[1] The salary due from Mr. Clarkson as Treasurer was $750.

[2] The books asked for are long since obsolete, but John Parkhurst (1728–1797) deserves mention. He was a Curate at Epsom, England, where he led a retired life devoted to his parish, his Greek, his Latin

two or three sets of Green's "Majora and Minora," with as many Murphy's "Lucien." Capt. Paine desires me to request you to procure for him a tin ear trumpet; he being very much troubled in hearing. Please to pay Mr. Swords the little amount $2 or $3 I owe him, out of the money you will receive for me. Your Very Humble Servant, VIRGIL H. BARBER."

It was the fashion in those days to print "Open Letters" to distinguished physicians, and amongst several issued by Dr. Spalding was one to Baron Larrey "On Abnormal Cartilages in the Capsular Ligament of the Knee Joint." With this Letter, when printed in the "Repository," Dr. Spalding forwarded a copy of his Inaugural Address and asked permission to nominate Larrey as honorary member of the New York Historical Society. The answer follows, translated:

"Paris, Sept. 12, 1815. Dear Sir: I have already had the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Inaugural Address before the celebrated Medical School over which you now preside, and I take the opportunity to day, owing to the voyage of one of my students to your immense country, to express to you, once more, my gratitude for the interest which you have shown in me and in my writings. I desire in this way to make an opportunity to be able to prove to you, that I am not forgetful of your exceedingly courteous remarks toward me. I assure you, that what you have so kindly said concerning me will remain forever engraven on my memory. It would give me the greatest pleasure in the world, also, to receive the Honorary Title of Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society, if you should see fit to send it to me. With my affectionate compliments, to you, Dear Sir, I remain, the BARON DOMINIQUE JEAN LARREY.[1]"

Sometime in 1816, Dr. Spalding completed his "Treatise on the Institutes of Medicine" and now offered to send the

and his Hebrew. His "Lexicon" was a remarkable book enriched with an enormous wealth of literary illustrations acquired in his early travels abroad, and before he settled for life in Epsom.

[1] Baron Larrey (1766–1842) studied medicine with an uncle in the country, went to Paris, and obtaining a position as Ship's Surgeon, made a voyage to Newfoundland. During the Revolution, he came to the front as organizer of the ambulance service, accompanied Napoleon in all of his campaigns, and after the Abdication, remained many years at the head of French Military Surgery. His "Memoirs" are vastly entertaining and instructive to the student of military surgery and Napoleonic history.

MSS. to Dr. Caldwell for criticism. The answer runs to this effect:

"Philad'a, July 18, 1816. Dear Sir: It will afford me high gratification to look through your MSS., and I cannot feel otherwise than flattered by the offer you have had the politeness to make: but it is not probable that I shall find much ground for alterations or amendments. Possibly, however, I may on some points be able to substitute a word or suggest a thought, if so, I shall be pleased to do it.

I will take care that you shall be nominated to the Philosophical Society. Before the time of your being ballotted for, I should like much to be in possession of your Manuscript, that I may speak of it, on that occasion, to your advantage. I am myself, in the way of becoming shortly again, an author, in a medical point of view, and am the author (incognito) of a literary work that has just appeared. Whether I may be able to remain concealed is yet to be ascertained. Of the Medical Work I am preparing, I shall announce myself the author.[1]

Please to let me have some of your MSS. by the first favorable opportunity, and believe me in great truth, Your Obedient and Very Humble Serv't, CH. CALDWELL."

Although I find no trace of Dr. Caldwell's opinion of the MSS: October brought the following favor asked in return:

"October 6th, 1816. Dear Sir: A Faculty of Physical Science in which is included the Chair of Natural History has been just created by the Trustees of the Univ. of Pennsylvania. For that Chair (N. History) it is my intention to become a candidate. For sundry reasons which it is not material to recite, I shall have to support my pretensions, in part, by any general weight of character, for science and letters, I may be so fortunate to possess. With my general reputation in these respects, you I believe, are perfectly acquainted.

To the sundry remarks of regard I have had the honour of receiving from you, will you have the goodness to add, in a communication to myself that of a distinct expression respecting my general standing as a medical philosopher, and a man of general Science and letters.

Is it, or is it not, your opinion that my character with my countrymen in these respects is such, as would add weight and give some luster to the Chair to which I might be chosen?

Let your communication assume at your option, the shape of a letter or a certificate to be exhibited to the Trustees if required. In

[1] The Medical Work was an Edition of Cullen's "Practice," and the Literary, "Lives of Distinguished Americans."

a case like the present, early impressions are important. You will, therefore exceedingly oblige me, by favouring me with a reply to this letter at as early a day as possible. On another subject I hope to have leisure to write to you shortly; which has not yet been the case.

With high and sincere regard, I am, Dear Sir, your Friend and Obedient Servant, CH. CALDWELL."

The MSS. just noted was next sent to Dr. Shattuck for his opinion, which runs to this effect:

"Boston, Nov. 19, 1816. My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter accompanying the Manuscript. As a proof of your high confidence in my friendly regard, I beg you to accept my acknowledgments. As neither my ability nor leisure enable me to write Notes, you will excuse my simple statement of an opinion of the undertaking and of its execution. The undertaking is in itself vast, and implies enterprise of the highest order; it undoubtedly would do an American public good, by provoking the Faculty to new efforts of examination, and thought, even if it failed to add to the reputation of the author. The execution in its style is novel. Novelty in a System is objectionable, unless its nearer conformity to nature be demonstrable. Particular parts will undoubtedly receive new elucidation by extensive anatomical research. As your reputation with the Medical American Public already stands exceedingly high, is that reputation to derive additional lustre from the publication? To the solution of this inquiry, I am inadequate: but upon this delicate point of trust you have already felt adequate to a decision. With Great Respect, I am, My Dear Sir, Your Obliged Friend, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

A few days later, as if he, too, had seen the MSS., Dr. Waterhouse wrote:

"Cambridge, 18 Nov. 1816. Dear Sir: The Bearer, of this, Mr. Wait is a respectable Printer and Bookseller in Boston. He is, I believe, about printing a new Edition of Thacher's "Dispensatory," and if I mistake not, another work by the same author. Whatever it may be, my respect for Dr. Thacher and Mr. Wait, and the desire of promoting useful publications, induce me to recommend the latter to your notice and confidence. I conceive that Dr. Thacher and you can benefit each other in your respective publications — and this is one of the reasons of my giving Mr. Wait this letter of introduction to you.

My Family, such Alas! as remain of it, desire to be remembered to you and yours. I correspond, as you know, more with medical men at a distance than with those near to me. To hear of your

health and prosperity, will always give pleasure to Your Friend and Humble Servant, BENJ'N WATERHOUSE.[1]"

A brief note terminates the correspondence for 1816, introduces two new friends and emphasizes the wide acquaintance of Dr. Spalding.

Rev. Abiel Carter (1791–1827), a Dartmouth graduate of 1813, and now settled in Savannah as a Clergyman, made a call on Dr. Spalding on his way North, and was handed an introductory letter to Joseph Perry, a Tutor at Dartmouth. Mr. Perry, by the way, later suffered from weak eyes, resigned for that reason, and lived on a farm in Keene, New Hampshire, the rest of his life.

Replying in due season to the letter mentioned, Mr. Perry writes to this effect.

"Hanover, Aug. 29, 1816. Dear Sir: Your polite note by Rev. Mr. Carter has been received. Agreeably to your request, I send you the Pamphlets relating to Dartmouth College, excepting the "Vindication"[2] of the Eight Trustees which cannot be conveniently obtained. President Wheelock wishes to be very cordially remembered to you, Sir, and he will ever be happy in showing you any favor in his power. With sentiments of Respect, Your Friend and Servant, JOS. PERRY."

[1] The "Institutes" was advertised, but never printed as a whole. Chapters on "Fever" and on "Yellow Fever" were issued as pamphlets, in magazine form and as Reprints.

[2] "The Vindication of the Official Conduct of the Trustees" was a much talked of pamphlet concerning the quarrel between the College and the State of New Hampshire. The scarcity of the pamphlet was due to the fact that only a few were printed and sold at Twenty Five cents a copy, whilst the "Reply" of the opponents was printed free, and scattered far and wide, to influence popular opinion.

CHAPTER XIX.

Beginnings of the Pharmacopœia. Chair of Anatomy in the Pennsylvania Medical School. Dr. J. L. E. W. Shecut; Gov. Plumer; Dr. Trevett; Dr. Usher Parsons.

On the 8th day of January, 1817, at a meeting of the New York County Medical Society, Dr. Spalding proposed a National Pharmacopœia. It must have seemed a striking event and have caused much remark in medical circles, that a physician who had only been a resident of the City for four years should arise at a meeting of practitioners of long standing and open discussion on a topic of National Medical Importance. Yet this long series of letters prove that the man was fitted for the place. Moreover, the fact that he did the greater part of this work alone cannot be too strongly emphasized. To the few who gave personal aid, proper recognition will be given. But the last four years of Dr. Spalding's life were devoted chiefly to this great task. Amidst a steadily increasing practice, he personally wrote and sent from his home, innumerable letters and circulars concerning his notable Project. The most important papers bearing upon this labor shall have a separate chapter at the end of this life, for it was the culmination of Dr. Spalding's career. Hardly had he finished the publication of the Pharmacopœia when he met with an accident which at once destroyed his practice and not long after terminated his life.

After this preliminary note, the most important letters received whilst the Pharmacopœia was in progress may here find insertion.

Early in the year, Dr. Eleazer Clapp (1786–1817) of Boston[1] was on his way South in search of health. Dr. Shattuck urged him to stop over and see Dr. Spalding, and gave him this introductory letter:

"Boston, May 20, 1817. Dear Sir: Permit me to introduce to your friendly notice, and Regard, Dr. Clapp, the bearer, who visits

[1] This clever young man was graduated from Harvard in 1807 and was already a promising member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, when tuberculosis set in, and he failed to survive the current year.

your city as an invalid, travelling in pursuit of health. Dr. Clapp till his present indisposition was in pretty full practice in this town. Any attention you may show him to cherish and refresh his exhausted spirits consistent with your convenience will confer an additional obligation on your already greatly obliged, Friend and Servant, GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

I now have the pleasure of inserting interesting Dartmouth and family news from Dr. Smith, who had happened to meet Mrs. Spalding, then in Portsmouth on a vacation from her family cares in New York, and was thus reminded to write to his former scholar.

"Portsmouth, Sept. 11, 1817. Dear Sir. It is a long time since I have heard directly from you, till I accidentally found Mrs. Spalding in Portsmouth where I have spent a few days on professional business. I believe Portsmouth remains very much as it was when you left it, excepting that to fill up the vacancy you made by leaving it, about half a dozen physicians have come to town and are endeavoring, I suppose, to get an honest living.

Our old College at Dartmouth has been brought to bed with a young University and has not yet got out of the straw.[1] A jury of Doctors set this week at Exeter to consult on her Case, and the public are waiting with considerable anxiety the result of their deliberation. I have taken up my connection with that Seminary, and therefore am not called into Council. I shall return home from this place through Boston, where I have some unfinished business, and from thence I shall return to Hanover, and immediately remove my family to New Haven where I am going to settle down quietly with them, and leave off roaming about the Country. My oldest son, David Solon,[2] has had his head turned about the Western Country, and last June set off to establish himself in that region as a physician. I expect he will return soon, in poverty, and heartily sick of the project. Ryno, is at Haymarket in Virginia as an Instructor in Mr. Thom: Turner's family.[3]

I have nothing new in the medical world. This has been a healthy season, generally, in New England excepting a few places

[1] The allusion to Dartmouth refers to the establishment of a University by New Hampshire, as against the College governed by Trustees under the old Charter. This was the beginning of the famous Dartmouth College Case.

[2] David Solon Chase Hall Smith (1785–1859) came home again and practiced many years in Sutton, Massachusetts.

[3] Nathan Ryno Smith (1797–1877) soon abandoned Tutoring, studied medicine and settling in Baltimore became a very renowned Surgeon in that City.

of no great extent where dysentery has prevailed.[1] Last Spring a year ago, I wrote some Notes on Wilson's "Febrile Diseases."[2] If you should happen to look into it, you will observe many blunders by the printer. The cause was, that Mr. Cook never sent me a Proof Sheet, nor a Book, but printed and distributed the book and the Type, while I was waiting for a Proof Sheet. N. SMITH."

No other letter of value is available for our historical purposes in 1817, except one from Mr. Barber, Jr., in Rome, whither he had journeyed to obtain instruction.

"Rome, Italy, Nov. 1817. My Dear Sir: It is with pleasure I address myself to one who has on so many occasions manifested himself my friend. If I did not avail myself of the opportunity, before my removal from New York to express to you, personally, a sense of the obligations which your politeness conferred on me and my family, I hope the present acknowledgement will cancel a neglect occasioned by the urgency of my affairs.

Of the disposition of my family in consequence of Mrs. Barber's desire to devote herself to religion, and of my subsequent embarking for Europe you doubtless are long since apprized. My voyage though unusually long was nevertheless pleasant, being free from storm and bad weather. We had a view of most of the Western Islands, and passing the Straits of Gibraltar, we kept along the Spanish Coast. Passing Fromentara and Corsica and other islands which we saw, on the 14th of August we entered Leghorn. Here we performed a quarantine of two weeks at the Lazaretto. Liberated from this confinement, I proceeded the same day to Pisa, and returning the next, we set off for Rome. Our journey led us through Siena and Viterbo, the former of which lies in Tuscany, and is noted for its superior taste and politeness, of manners, as well as distinguished for its correct and elegant pronunciation of the Italian tongue, and the latter is situated in the Pope's Dominions, nor is it remarkable for anything that fell under my observation excepting the remains of a person who died in the 10th Century. She is called St. Rosa, and was a native of that city. Her death was occasioned by fire. This being extinguished, on searching for the

[1] Dr. Smith travelled so extensively over New England for years that he was well acquainted with every epidemic occurring, so that his remark concerning the general health is reliable.

[2] "Wilson" on "Febrile Diseases" is very misleading to a modern searcher after medical facts. For, Alexander Philip Wilson (? 1779–? 1851) was only known as Wilson, up to 1807, when he changed his name to A. Philip Wilson-Philip. "The Treatise" annotated by Dr. Smith was originally published in four volumes in 1799–1804. Wilson practiced in many towns in England, then in London, made money, speculated, lost, and is said to have died forlornly in France.

remains, her body was discovered to have suffered from the flames no external injury farther than the discoloring of the skin, which was perfectly black. The corpse was laid out in the usual manner, and afforded a fair opportunity for inspection. I examined it with attention, and could not but wonder at seeing the laws of mortality so far as I could discern, completely suspended. The countenance was not sunk as is commonly the case with the dead, and I believe, universally after some considerable length of exposure to the action of the air. Nor was even the skin contracted, nor the muscles shrunk, but all appeared distended to its natural state when alive and healthy. More than once I wished for the knowledge of the intelligent physician that I might go away with the satisfaction of having investigated this remarkable phenomenon as critically as the nature of the thing and the science of the age or the laws of animal nature when deprived of life would admit. As it was, I am not afraid the candid mind will charge me with superstition, if I believe till better informed, that what I saw was the manifestation of power which governs the world.

I reached Rome, about the first of September. With its antiquities connected with its history, it presents a world of itself. My first object on my arrival was to make myself acquainted with its present state, and to visit such places and objects as are remarkable for past transactions, or justly claim the admiration of the world. Among these are the catacombs St. Sebastian, the Castle of St. Angelo, the Pantheon, the collections of ancient sculpture at the Capitol and the Vatican, the Church of St. Peter, the aqueducts, fountains and obelisks. Should you wish to refresh your mind with a short account of these, I would recommend Gahan's "History of the Church." With regard to them all, I have barely to remark that in none of them did I suffer any disappointment excepting at the first view of St. Peter. I had read and been told so much of the vast size of this admired edifice, that my expectations were raised in proportion. On seeing it appear so inferior to all my imagination had painted, I went away dissatisfied; nor was it till after a leisurely inspection of its parts and particularly after ascending the cupola, that I was not only convinced, but felt that its extent was enormous. You can form some estimate of this, when told that the globe or brass ball at the top, appears from the ground to be of the ordinary size, and yet it is capable of holding at least fifteen persons, some say more. I entered the globe about the middle of the day and found it insufferably warm.

If you will let me know how I can serve you or gratify your curiosity during my stay in Europe, which probably will be two or three years, I shall consider it a favor. At present I am acquainted with no medical characters here, except the Pope's Physician, and he appears to be, as undoubtedly he is, at the head of his pro-

fession. In proper time I design to inquire into the condition of Institutions of Medicine, and the state of that science in the country. Accept the assurance of my respect to yourself and Mrs. Spalding, and believe me your Friend, VIRGIL H. BARBER."

I have given Mr. Barber's letter in full as a specimen of a view of Italy a Century ago. He is, however, according to Mr. Hare, mistaken regarding St. Rosa. For she died, originally, in the XIII Century, and a century later her convent was set afire. She then arose from her tomb to ring the alarm for fire, and returning to her coffin was by this fire burnt as black as a coal, though miraculously embalmed.

Dr. Caspar Wistar died in January, 1818, and Dr. Spalding announced himself as a candidate for the vacancy in the Pennsylvania Hospital Medical School. His chances were small because local influence would of course compel a local successor. Other candidates, however, outside of Philadelphia were coming forward and Dr. Spalding knew that his claims were as good as theirs. For he had studied anatomy for twenty years, demonstrated to Dr. Smith, Dr. Ramsay and Dr. Wistar, had given six courses of lectures at Fairfield, and had been the first American anatomist to inject, successfully, the absorbents. Fully aware of his talents and ability, he visited Philadelphia, and left his interests in the hands of his friend Dr. Jonathan Horwitz (1783–1852). This talented man was born in Prussia, graduated at Gœttingen, and coming to America obtained his medical degree at Philadelphia. Turning aside from medicine he gradually became a fine Orientalist, a master of several languages, and was twice sent officially on Government Missions to Europe. He practiced also in Baltimore but seems to have preferred to be known as a linguist and teacher of Hebrew. His letters to Dr. Spalding are of value to the history of the Pennsylvania Hospital Medical School. I print them as they read, with their slightly curious errors in English.

The following recommendation from Dr. Ramsay accompanied Dr. Spalding's application.

"Fryeburg, Me., Feb. 7, 1818. As the friends of Dr. Spalding of New York have requested a certificate from me respecting my opinion of his character as an Anatomist, I hereby, in my usual manner on such occasions address this letter to such persons as may require my knowledge of the abilities of my pupils, and declare

my high sense of the Industry, Uncommon Excellence, and great Extent of Dr. Spalding's powers as an Anatomist.

After teaching the College of N. Y., in 1807 (to the chair of which I was invited as an Anatomist and Physiologist) in obeying a similar call from Dartmouth College, Dr. Spalding acted as my assistant and friend with that ability which claimed my confidence and respect. He filled the same responsible office when I taught the Institute in N. Y., in 1817, with that increased ability which drew from the pupils their warmest acknowledgement and my unbounded approbation. I now possess as the basis of my Lectures on Anatomy and Physiology; Muscular, Arterial, Nervous and Lymphatic preparations executed in the style of my museum in Europe, and which rival European excellence, chiefly executed as they were by my ingenious Pupil and Friend, Dr. Spalding. Alex. Ramsay."

With this recommendation arrived a characteristic letter.

"Fryeburg, Feb. 17, 1818. My Dear Sir: I enclose a certificate. Dana[1] is from home. All manner of success I wish you if your ambition would be sated. But you folks have your own species of felicity, which I pity. I have not seen your $50 Note here against me, and I may say that the great expense I incurred in the South, and in coming here, may render its appearance exactly at this time inconvenient. Do your books sell well? Tell Pascalis[2] I expected a copy of his work, with my communication, here, and if he behaves well, I may become his correspondent. My Class is better than could be expected from my short notices issued and the penury of the Country. I look for its increase. Believe me your friend, Alex Ramsay."

Dr. Spalding did not have to wait long for news from Dr. Horwitz concerning affairs in Philadelphia.

"Philadelphia, March 2, 1818. D'r Sir: I have made all inquiries and the following are the results. Dr. Dorsey has finished

[1] Dana is our friend Judge Judah Dana of Walpole times.

[2] Dr. Felix Pascalis Ouviéres (1750–1840) known as Dr. Pascalis in New York, where he practiced, was one of Dr. Spalding's very intimate friends. In little notes to Dr. Spalding he signs himself "Your own Pascalo." Pascalis seems to have been of Portuguese descent (Pasquale) but was born in France and educated at the Medical School at Montpellier in the country. He practiced for a while in the Island of So: Domingo, but escaping from the Negro Revolutionists he settled in New York. He went abroad not long afterward to study an epidemic in Cadiz, and on his return studied and wrote concerning a similar epidemic in Philadelphia. He wrote a great deal whilst an Editor of the "Repository" and was very useful in forwarding the Pharmacopœia.

the course of the deceased Dr. Wistar. He pretends not to desire the Chair of Anatomy being now possessor of the Mat. Med.; which I presume he intends to fill until the death of his Uncle Dr. Physick, when in all probability, he has an eye to the Professorship of Surgery, being more congenial to his pursuits. But exerts himself much, and makes strong interest in favour of a Dr. Smith,[1] now President of a College in Virginia. Drs. Hartshorn [2] and Hewson,[3] I understand are also candidated for the professorship. I have several times called on some of the Trustees, but have never been sufficiently fortunate to meet them within.

There exists a spirit of monopoly, and sycophancy in the Medical School of this place that's unrivalled any where. And I have no doubt that they will try to have somebody from here; though I believe Dr. Smith stands a fair chance. I shall cite the Finis of Dr. Caldwell's Eulogy on Dr. Wistar delivered a few days ago, by which you will be enabled to perceive what wretched flattery exists here.

Though the Dr.'s appearance and eloquence would have been better at the field of Bunker's Hill, having more the oratorical powers and appearance of a soldier than a physician or orator, yet these were his words.

"We have lost a Rush, a Barton, and a Wistar, yet by the judicious selections of the Trustees" (not one physician amongst them and therefore unable to judge) "those chairs have been so well filled that they equal if not surpass their predecessors. But a WISTAR! He that will fill a Wistar's Chair, must be a great man! And such we have amongst us. We need not seek for them abroad."

My humble advice therefore, would be this. As the election will not take place until some time the next Spring or Summer (though I shall try my best to see 5 or 6 of the Trustees and exert my little influence so far as it goes) for you to come here, for nobody can do one's business as well as one's self. But in order to make your

[1] Dr. Smith was J. Augustine Smith.

[2] Dr. Joseph Hartshorn (1779–1850) obtained his degree at Philadelphia in 1805, went as Ship's Surgeon to the East Indies and practiced a while in Java. Returning to Philadelphia he was one of the Surgeons to the Pennsylvania Hospital and edited Boyer's "Treatise on the Bones."

[3] Dr. Thomas Tickell Hewson (1775–1848) was a grandson of William Hewson, a distinguished English Surgeon, and son of a second Dr. William Hewson, who was at one time a partner of William Hunter's. When Hewson and Hunter quarrelled concerning money, Benjamin Franklin acted as a mediator. After the death of his Father, Thomas Hewson established in Philadelphia a Private School of Medicine. He was later elected Professor of Theory and Practice and translated various medical and surgical papers from the French. He also collaborated diligently in the Pharmacopœia, and won a lofty reputation in Medicine.

journey effectual, if you could procure letters to some of the most influential Trustees, particularly to Mr. Merdith,[1] it would be well for you. He has great influence in the Board and being a Yankee swims always on top, and does with the others whatever he pleases.

That you may succeed according to your merits and virtues are the ardent wishes of, Dear Sir, your friend, J. Horwitz.

P. S. In going to the Post Office I luckily met with Bishop White (a Trustee) in Market St. who informed me that there will be a meeting to morrow evening of the Board, and that the whole Faculty has drawn up a petition in favor of Dr. Smith, that Dr. Warren of Boston and Dr. Hewson from here are candidates. Dr. Warren is also strongly recommended, but this ought not to discourage your exertions."

Although supporting Dr. Warren as a candidate, Dr. Caldwell now wrote to Dr. Spalding that Dr. Dorsey would have the vacant chair, and that where he saw no chance for anybody else it would be uncandid to offer any encouragement. He sent with this letter a copy of his Eulogy on Wistar saying that his time had been too much occupied to do justice to the subject.

Dr. Warren also wrote to this effect:

"As you may have heard something about my being a candidate for the Anatomical Chair at Philadelphia, and as these things are often strangely misrepresented, I beg leave to trouble you with the Statement; That I am not and never have wished to become a competitor for that affair. Gentlemen of Philadelphia strongly urged it, and Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Caldwell were favorably inclined: in fact as they say, originally proposed it, but I never for a moment could seriously think of leaving Boston and a multitude of friends. Dr. Dorsey will be the successful candidate for Anatomy. Coxe will take Materia Medica, and Hare, Chemistry. There is, however, so much INTRIGUE, that neither is sure but the first!!"

Dr. Dorsey was elected to the vacant Chair, delivered the opening lecture, was stricken with fever on the next day, and died very soon.

Dr. Spalding offered his service again, but was in a few days informed by Dr. Coxe that Dr. Physick would fulfil the duties for the rest of the winter.

Dr. Caldwell who was also appealed to sent similar information. The only thing then left was to electioneer for the vacancy to be filled in the year 1819 by the Trustees.

[1] Mr. William Meredith was a celebrated Lawyer, President of the Schuylkill Bank and City Solicitor, for many years.

With this in view Dr. Spalding sent on another recommendation from Dr. Ramsay which had reached him with this curious letter.

"Fryeburg, Maine, March 20, 1819. Dear Sir: Our roads are so impassable by snow that your letter has been detained. I do not lose a day yet shall mention in the end, how inconvenient, correspondence is to me. And when you peruse my Second Certificate, my labors and my reasonings may fail in gratifying you and your advisers. We must mutually excuse each other. One motive from withdrawing from the work is, that it is a spoiled child and I have only one stable plan and prospect. If I am to serve you, essentially, with wise, learned, and good men, my own opinion ought to acquire no lustre from any auditors but where this is volunteered by them. In your favor as I have done, I have therefore left it to your friends of the Faculty to prove their kindness and imitate me in subscribing their opinions. If, upon reflection, your friends disapprove the manner of speaking of your Preparations in my Certificate, Americans and Europeans must still mutually regret variety of opinion. I have endeavored to consult the dictates of veracity which never is at variance with the interests of probity or the efficiency of friendship. Let me hear how you succeed.

An essay "On Dissection as the basis of Physiology, Anatomy and Surgery" has been laid aside to wait on you, and shall be forwarded to you with its diagrams of the head and neck.

Some interesting cases have passed through my hands, in fever: none of them admitted, naturally, of cold affusion: Vapor baths could not be procured. I wrapped the patient in a wet blanket of nearly the temperature of the body. He was stretched on a board as more easy posture than sitting: the water was gradually raised in temperature, and continually poured on the blanket, the heat thus raised to 100° or 104°. The body was then dashed on each breast by only a tumbler of cold water. Convalescence appeared from that moment. Your Friend, ALEX. RAMSAY."

At this juncture Dr. Horwitz kept his friend in touch with the state of affairs and mentioned some new candidates.

"Philadelphia, April 12, 1819. D'r Sir: In answer to your last, I have to observe that the Trustees have met but no particular nomination has taken place. There were read letters from 4 candidates, Viz; Dr. Englis from Boston,[1] Dr. Watson from Virginia,

[1] Dr. William Ingalls (1769–1851) was a distinguished physician of Boston, Professor of Surgery at one time at Brown University, and at the head of a Private Medical School in Boston, which was a promising rival to the Harvard School. Dr. Ingalls drove stylish horses, and obtained by audacity, a dashing surgical and medical practice, of large proportions.

Dr. Hewson, and Dr. Patterson from Glasgow [1] who is said to be a very popular lecturer there and is highly recommended by Mr. Jeffries and Rev. Dr. Chalmers. Therefore place is kept open for candidates which will be nominated next month and in consequence the election will not take place until June. One thing, however, is sure, that your friend Meredith has as yet made no mention of your name.

The College of Physicians is kept in a room in 5th St., at the same place where the Philosophical Society is kept, between Chestnut and Walnut.

If you can obtain for me a letter from Dr. Mitchill to Mr. Jefferson as I intend to be a candidate for the Professorship of Oriental Languages in the Central College under the patronage of Mr. J. you will infinitely oblige your most obedient J. Horwitz."

I find at this point another long letter from Dr. Horwitz concerning his application for a position as Professor of Hebrew, and although it is hardly related to the career of Dr. Spalding, it throws so much light on his personal friend, that it deserves insertion.

"D'r Sir: I observe from your note that Dr. Mitchill wishes some testimony of my qualifications. My object in seeing Mr. Jefferson is to procure a place as Professor of Oriental languages in the new founded college at Charlottesville of which he is the head. I thought that I was sufficiently known in the above department, not to need any testimony, having taught almost all the Clergy in the Eastern, Middle and Western States. There is but one person here who corresponds with Mr. J., viz., John Vaughan with whom I am not on good terms; otherwise I could have obtained it here. But, to the point: If Dr. Mitchill wants to know whether I am a good Hebrew scholar he may inquire of Dr. Harris, President of Columbia, Rev. Mr. Onderdonk, etc., who were my pupils. These gentlemen, whatever may be their opinion of my orthodoxy in religious matter in which, perhaps, we do not agree, cannot help of affirming as they have often done both verbally and in writing, that they consider me the best Hebrew Scholar in the Country.

I might have sent you a letter from Rev. Mr. Wilson, the most accurate Hebrew Scholar in this city, if he had not already publicly

[1] Granville Sharp Pattison (1791–1851) was graduated at Glasgow, and established in 1818 a private medical school in Philadelphia. He was later called to the University of Maryland, but resigned owing to poor health and returned to England. Recovering his health he returned to Philadelphia, and was chosen a Professor in the Jefferson Medical School, and in the University medical school in New York. He wrote "A Treatise on Lithotomy," but most of his papers were controversial, and ephemeral.

testified of me in the most flattering terms in his "Hebrew Language." If you can obtain a letter from Dr. Mitchill before the expiration of a week, I will be obliged to you. Otherwise, it is of no consequence. I shall attend to the Anatomical Chair, and shall write you as soon as I have full information. If you arrive here drop a note for me in the Post Office. With assurances of Respect, etc., J. HORWITZ."

The final letter from Dr. Horwitz concerning the Chair of Anatomy, but which I omit as mere repetition of his previous letters, goes all over the ground once more, mentions in profuse detail the opinions of the various trustees concerning various candidates, says that no appointment is to be made at this time and concludes in this way:

"There seems to be some Mystery and Cavil about the whole affair. What they intend to do nobody knows. Some think General Cadwallader having gone to Europe, they will wait until an answer from him, after having made particular inquiry concerning the character and standing of Dr. Patterson of Glasgow.

I thank you for Dr. Mitchill's Note to Mr. Jefferson, and am as ever, your friend, etc., J. HORWITZ."

The Trustees at length made what has been called the "unfortunate" appointment of Dr. Physick to the vacant Chair and Dr. Spalding's long and persistent efforts met with failure.

Let us now return to the year 1818 and set in order the course of events, interrupted by the Philadelphia Anatomical episode.

It has already been stated that Dr. Spalding decided not to print his "Institutes of Medicine" as a single volume, but issued parts of it in pamphlet form. I now go on to say that having sent one to Dr. Nathan Smith the following criticism was duly received.

"New Haven, March 6, 1818. Dear Sir: It has been some time since I received a letter from you accompanying a Dissertation on "Fever," and I must beg your pardon for not answering it sooner. The truth is I have been very closely engaged in delivering my lectures, on which I have been more full and particular than heretofore. And, of late, owing to some headstrong and unforesighted young men in procuring subjects, we have been brought into much trouble, and perplexity, which I trust will however pass over. Respecting your theory of fever, as it happens to be a little different from mine, it is very natural to suppose that I should not be quite

satisfied with it. As to what Dr. Rush and others have said of Nosology, and the general disrepute into which it has fallen, it is to be attributed to the errors of those who attempted it, rather than the impossibility of classing diseases in a way which will assist the learner. Now I do not know how to define disease other than the deficiency or wrong performance of some of the functions of the body. Therefore, if we know which of the several functions is deranged primarily by a disease; such disease may therefore be considered as belonging essentially to that organ, whose functions are changed. Now as anatomy and physiology have led us to a knowledge of the several organs of the body and their respective functions, if we class diseases accordingly as they affect the different functions, we shall not have a great many classes of diseases, not enough to burden the memory. While by thus confining our inquiries to this circumstance it will lead us one step toward the true character of such disease and its remedies. For, notwithstanding, what Cullen and Brown have said to the contrary, remedies have what in one sense may be called a specific action on the human system: that is, some remedies exert their effects chiefly on some certain organs or parts of the system, while their effects on the other parts of the system are chiefly through the medium of the organs on which their effects are first exerted; witness, Narcotics, Mercury, Emetic and Cathartic Medicines.

If you will look at the last edition of Wilson "On Febrile Diseases" with some notes of mine, you will find an outline of nosology which I sketched, and which was published without my having an opportunity to correct the proof sheets, and of course very incorrect, but sufficient to give you an idea of the plan. Since that, another Nosology has come out from England, on a similar plan, but the subject is handled so differently as to acquit us both, of having borrowed from the other. You will perceive that I have attributed all febrile diseases to a morbid excitement in the sanguiferous system, and confined exclusively to the capillary part of that system, as morbid changes, either of structure or action in the heart or great arteries never produce anything like fever or inflammation; witness the most violent palpitations of the heart which arise with or without organic affections.

My theory of fever is, that some cause throws the capillary system into morbid excitement, and that the changes which take place in the heart and great arteries in febrile diseases, as they are always subsequent to a change in the capillaries, are dependent on such derangements in that part of the sanguiferous system. My objection to your theory is, that the lassitude which you mention in the muscles is, so far as I can judge, subsequent to a change in the capillary system, and appears to depend on that as an effect rather than a cause. But to go into full description of the subject

would lead me too far for the limits of a letter, we will therefore defer it to an opportunity for conversing on the subject.

I wish to inquire of you whether you know of a physician by the name of Zebulon Rood, who was graduated at Hanover. I was informed that he resided in N. Y. last year or the year before. If you know where he is, be kind enough to inform me by a letter. Your Sincere Friend, NATHAN SMITH.[1]"

Dr. Spalding for some time previous to this letter from Dr. Smith had been serving as a Trustee of the Free Schools of the City of New York and in this position was enabled to be of service to an old friend from Portsmouth, William Coffin Harris (1788–1853), Teacher of a celebrated school for boys in his native town. Mr. Harris would have been graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1807 had he not been "Decimated" for protesting against the bad food served at Commons — "The Rotten Cabbage Rebellion" as it was called. He then went to sea in the Ship "Dromo," which turned out to be a privateer against South American Spanish trade. During the long voyage he learned how to become a school master by teaching the sailors to read and write. On a second voyage, during the War of 1812, he was captured and imprisoned at Dartmoor. He had now come to New York to study the Lancastrian System,[2] and received much assistance from Dr. Spalding. Returning to Portsmouth Mr. Harris opened a school for boys, carried it on for years with great success, and when he retired, my Father headed the list of his former scholars who then presented him with a set of Silver.

One of the very striking, but long forgotten Characters in medical America is that of John Linnæus Edward Whit-

[1] This letter is a magnificent specimen of the handwriting of Dr. Smith, written rapidly, yet clearly, with a bold hand and quill pen. Dr. Rood I have never discovered.

[2] The Lancastrian System was a semi-military school, with merits and monitors, each boy in turn becoming a monitor. A system of emulation prevailed. Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838) was born in England and established his schools in London about 1801, and later united them with those of Dr. Andrew Bell (1753–1832) who had introduced similar ideas from India. Lancaster became famous everywhere, but his character was unstable and he made no permanent successes. He founded schools in New York, Montreal, New Haven, Philadelphia, St. Thomas and even in Caracas in Venezuela under the patronage of Bolivar. He was a book-worm, and from his sedentary habits became very stout, and died from a street accident.

ridge Shecut (1770–1836). Born of Huguenot parentage in South Carolina, he removed early to Charleston, obtained his degree at Philadelphia and devoted his life to Botany and Electricity. He was a voluminous writer, but his best work is "A Flora of South Carolina."

When Dr. Spalding wrote to him concerning the Pharmacopœia, he replied with a note and an essay "On Yellow Fever," and after Dr. Spalding's acknowledgements of this compliment, Dr. Shecut wrote two exceedingly voluminous letters which may be here inserted though somewhat abridged.

"Charleston, S. C., April 16, 1818. Dear Sir: Owing to inexplicable delays your letter of February 12th did not reach me till last night, and I hasten to reply. I am happy that my essay on yellow fever has called forth from you a desire to be made more intimately and satisfactorily acquainted with the Influence of the Electric Fluid upon the atmosphere, particularly as regards the fever in question. And, I would to GOD, that all the professors and practitioners of physic in the U. S. would be awakened to the same inquiry and due consideration of this important subject which I have established as my hypothesis in accounting for the Cause, not only of fevers that are epidemic, but of numerous other diseases. You must be aware that in a correspondence attended with numerous disadvantages and delays, sometimes failures and loss of letters, that there is scarce a possibility of keeping up a regular connection of ideas. Could I succeed in publishing the results of my 50 years' experience, for which I have been incessantly laboring for the last 6 years, the doctrine of The Electric Fluid as a Fifth Element of Nature would afford ample proof of the correctness of my hypothesis.

As it is, I content myself by stating that I have no Suite of Experiments directed to the object of ascertaining the actual influence of the fluid upon the health of nature, except such as I have made myself, and these have invariably resulted in favor of my hypothesis, and PROVE that during the prevalence of Yellow Fever there is a deficiency of electricity! ! ! This was confirmed in the fever of 1752 when those who were seized with the fever before the Restoration of the Electric Equilibrium died suddenly. BUT, no sooner did the heavy concussion of thunder and lightning restore the equilibrium, than the health of the City was never better. In 1806, it was proved that with abundant thunder and lightning, there was little fever, and the medical history of our State adds to such facts.

If my hypothesis is not warranted by regular experiments, it is established by facts developing themselves since the discovery of

America, and which have made more forcible and lasting impression on my mind than on my contemporaries. That they may be stimulated to more attentive regard to electric phenomena during this fever in the Future is my most earnest wish. Though I would not attempt to assert that a deficiency of Electricity Always precedes or accompanies Yellow Fever, or that it never takes place without such changes, and that they never occur without producing the fever, I am willing to hazard the assertion, that there are but few exceptions. On this subject I have thrown down the gauntlet, but with the design of Study and Inquiry, and I am sanguine to predict, that if my experiments are attempted on principles of sound philosophy, my Hypothesis will be permanently established as a Medical Fact. I am also laboring to bring forth essays "On Contagion and Infection," "On the electrical fluid as a Constituent Principle in Universal Nature," and a book, "The Elements of Medicine" in 1400 pages; all of which are ready for the press, but for which the press is not ready.

With Sentiments of Literary regard, I pray you to accept the assurance of my best wishes, and remain Dear Sir, Respectfully yours, J. L. E. W. SHECUT."

Writing again in July and enclosing his Essay "On Contagion and Infection," Dr. Shecut continues his former theories.

"July 19, 1818. Dear Sir: Your polite communication with circular of the Pharmacopœia and Report of the Trustees of the Free Schools of New York have reached me and I hasten to make my acknowledgements and assure you of my prompt attention to their several contents. My hypothesis is daily gaining advocates. Several members of our Society have investigated the subject and by reference to its records, and "The Medical History of the State," have found that whenever the Yellow Fever prevailed, there had been little or no Thunder and Lightning, and of course no Electrical Influence. But, that invariably in the years when the Fever did not occur, an electrical equilibrium existed in the atmosphere, and that these years were remarkable for repeated concussions of the Soul of Nature, that grand, vivifying principal of the Universe, The Electric Fluid. So far, this year promises to be of this sort, and I ventured to predict as early as April, that in the event of a heavy concussion once a week or fortnight, there would be no Yellow Fever!! As we have had some powerful concussions this month the city is healthy. There have been some cases of Remittent Fever, but they are peculiar to this climate. I object to their being called Bilious Remittent. I do not acknowledge any such disease as Primary and Original, but I consider it a symptom of the Vernal Remittent.

I have lately communicated to Dr. Mitchill an account of a worm discovered in a cistern of Rain Water. It has staggered our Naturalists.

Charleston is a poor place to have medical printing done. If I possessed $100,000 and published all my MSS. here I should be left without money, as labor is high. They offered in N. Y. to print for $2.50, the same book for which they demand $4.50 here.

As soon as I can devote a day to the Pharmacopœia I will forward my communication to you. I wish here, to call your attention to an important particular, that of confounding the name and virtues of plants from mistake or misapplication of their Popular Names. I refer to calling "The Prickly Ash," the "Tooth Ache Tree." The Prickly Ash possesses none of the virtues of the other tree at all, which is stimulating, almost like Capsicum, whilst Prickly Ash possesses no heating properties whatsoever, and so of many other articles. I must however break off here. Believe me Truly Yours, J. L. E. W. SHECUT."

Dr. James Jackson, of Boston, visited Dr. Spalding in the summer of 1818, and returning home, wrote this entertaining letter:

"Boston, Aug. 4, 1818. Dear Sir: I found your letter of the middle of July on my return, but the pressure of various affairs after an absence so unusual to me in addition to my ordinary business compelled me to lay aside several letters amongst which was yours, until I could find some leisure. I was disappointed very much not to see more of you, and particularly wished to talk with you about Ergot, though not with a design to persuade you to employ it. I had some conversation on the subject with your friends, after you were called from us on consultation, little suspecting that then, for the first time, you were to see some evidence of the efficacy of the article. The result of your former observations was indeed very extraordinary to me: it was however, only negative evidence, and I have had so much affirmative evidence on the subject since, that I should as soon doubt the efficacy of opium of jalap, or of antimony, as of ergot.

The work which I mentioned to you was Lordat's "Traité des Hemorrhages" printed in Paris in 1808.[1] I referred to Stark's

[1] Dr. Jacques Lordat (1773–1857), in whose "Treatise on Hemorrhages" Dr. Spalding was much interested (he printed several cases of this sort with suggestive treatment) began the study of Theology, but Revolutionary mobs destroyed the Institution in which he had been placed and he turned to medicine, and became a skillful practitioner in Montpellier, France.

"Dissections"[1] only for evidence in respect to the state of the blood vessels near ulcerated parts. You will remember, that Van Swieten points out the scientific distinctions on this subject. I think that some remarks appertaining to it are contained in Bichat's[2] "Anatomie General" I presume that you have read that work: if you have not, you must.

Accept my thanks for your very kind attentions to me while I was in New York. I felt also much indebted to Dr. Stevens,[3] with whom I was greatly pleased. I should be very happy in an opportunity of seeing either of you here, and shall be gratified in attending to any of your medical friends who may be passing this way. Your Friend, and obliged Servant, J. Jackson."

Dr. Jackson's allusion to ergot was based on the circumstance that Dr. Spalding had once or twice written rather vehemently against the virtues of ergot, denying that it had value at all. Later on he apologized to Dr. Stearns of Albany[4] who had, in 1807, first called the attention of the American Profession to its obstetric usefulness, and acknowledged that ergot had its place in medicine.

To illustrate the every day remark that Dr. Spalding knew everybody and that everybody knew him, I call attention next to a very clever letter from his old friend, Gov. Plumer of New Hampshire: would that I had more from him to find a place in this book!

[1] William Stark (1740–1770) was a favorite of John Hunters, and one of those meteoric characters who flash across the world, occasionally. His "Dissections" was based on his Thesis at Leyden. He plunged into anatomical studies after settling in London, but in three years was dead.

[2] François Xavier Bichat (1771–1803) was another brilliant youth who died early after illuminating the medical world with many treatises in rapid succession. His great works on "Anatomy" and on "Membranes," were admirably composed.

[3] Alexander Hodgdon Stevens (1789–1869) studied with Sir Astley Cooper, and as the son of an influential merchant of New York, obtained, on settling in that City, many remunerative medical positions, which he maintained by his profound medical skill. He edited Boyer's "Surgery," was a Surgeon in the war of 1812, and as early as 1807 ligated the external Iliac. He wrote also "On the Care of the Insane," and was President of the American Medical Society.

[4] John Stearns (1770–1848), the actual founder of the New York Medical Society, and for many years its Secretary and President, practiced for some years in Albany, but happening to meet a series of fatal cases of Puerperal Fever, he removed to greater success in New York. He gave his life to medicine, and died from septicæmia contracted on duty. Being at one time interested in psychology he wrote an essay "On the Morbid Effects of the Passions on Disease."

"Epping, N. H., Oct. 24, 1818. Dear Sir: This week I received your letter with your "Reflections on Fever," and Report of the Trustees of the Free Schools, for which you will please accept my grateful acknowledgments. I have read your pamphlet with attention and pleasure, but it is on a subject with which I am not sufficiently acquainted to decide with precision. You know the low state of the Faculty in New Hampshire. We have scarce any, who write on the subject of medicine, and of the great body of our country physicians but few who have any books to read, and what is worse they have little inclination to purchase books, to read those few that they have, or to investigate the complex and intricate subjects of their profession. These facts have long induced me to believe that in many cases, the patient has more to apprehend from the ignorance of the physician, than from the disease, and that it is safer to trust to nature for a cure than to rely on the prescriptions of those whose knowledge is limited to a few hard technical terms. With us, the Gentlemen of the Faculty have made less progress than those of law and divinity: the latter, indeed, have much to do before they can attain real eminence.

In your profession I have long considered it a desideratum to have an able but simple work, accurately describing the nature and functions of the several parts of man in a state of health, the effect or changes diseases produce on each of those parts and of the remedies for those diseases.

I would purchase and read such a work with pleasure, and that pleasure would be enhanced if it was simple, plain and free, so far as the nature of the subject would admit, from abstruse technical terms, and of attachment to existing theories. Mystery is the enemy of improvement, and it is better suited to prolong the reign of ignorance and of error than to promote that of truth and science. And, the knowledge of things is vastly more important than that of words.

I really wish we had an accurate Journal kept in different sections of our Country of the actual state of the weather, the crops, the general diet and regimen of our citizens, the diseases most prevalent in each, their type, character and mode of treatment, etc., so as to exhibit the means by which health was preserved and lost and how far they depended on climate and modes of living. Such a Society, I think, might be formed of Gentlemen living in various parts of our Country, with little expense and from whose reports much information could be obtained which would be useful to all, and particularly to Medical Characters. I would freely contribute to such an establishment.

But, I am wandering from the object of this letter, which was to thank you for your Pamphlets and to say, that if you or the Historical Society of N. Y., should need any of the few pamphlets

we publish here, it will afford me pleasure to procure and transmit them. I remain with much esteem and respect, Yours, etc., WILLIAM PLUMER.[1]"

Amongst the Southern friends of Dr. and Mrs. Spalding were the Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther Hurlbut of Charleston, South Carolina. How they first met I have never discovered. Mr. Hurlbut was graduated at Williams, in 1804, and preached as a Unitarian Clergyman in Charleston. Dr. Spalding as Secretary of the New York Historical Society had notified him of his election to membership and here is his reply.

"Charleston, S. C., Feb. 24, 1819. My Dear Sir: Two days previous to the receipt of your letter, I met Dr. Clapp by accident, in the street, and he paid me the amount of your bill. I hold it subject to your order. I would enclose it in this, but accidents are so frequent in the mail, that I think it better to wait your directions.

I thank you for your attention to my little commissions, and I regret that I should have been so vague in my language as to occasion you any uncertainty. I believe my indistinctness was owing to an impression on my mind, that I had specified to you, when in N. York, that it was the CONGRESS WATER I wished for. I must express to you how much I was gratified by the information conveyed in one of the inclosures in your letter. I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for your individual civility and kindness, the high sense I entertain of the honour conferred upon me, and my best wishes for the prosperity of those important interests to the promotion of which its efforts are devoted. Yours Sincerely, M. L. HURLBUT."

Dr. Thurston offers us at this point a glimpse of Portsmouth and we can now understand the energy which Dr. Spalding needed to collect the facts for his Bills of Mortality.

[1] This famous politician "received religion" when a mere child and soon became a precocious Revivalist and peripatetic preacher throughout New Hampshire. Tiring of that, he studied law which he hated, until he finally found it of use to him in politics into which he entered zealously on becoming of age. He served one term as Senator from New Hampshire and two as Governor of the State. His eloquent Thanksgiving Proclamations were plagiarized throughout the United States. He became notorious in the Electoral College by refusing to vote for Munroe (though elected to represent his Party) because he disapproved of his personal monetary embarrassments, and feared that they predicted extravagance in the Administration.

"Portsmouth, April 11, 1819. Dear Sir: I forward you with this, six Bills of Mortality, agreeable to your request. I am very sorry to inform you that I must relinquish the hope of completing the Series, and for the following reasons. I have no means of forming correct lists of the deaths, only three of the Clergymen having kept any records since your last Bills. In the next place, the memories of our physicians are very imperfect, and Cutter being dead, and two or three transient ones having escaped us, altogether, render it impossible to obtain any correct histories of the diseases of those that deceased in the intervening years. I have examined the newspapers with a reference to this subject, but they afford very limited information.

In addition to the above, Pierrepont and Dwight discouraged any attempt. I did hope a while since to have the pleasure to forward you a large sheet containing all that is wanted, but shall now be content, if my brethren will take sufficient interest in the thing to enable me to make correct Bills for the future.

We have no news in this part of the Medical World. Our town is at this time very healthy, and at all times, what with the health of the town, the number of Physicians and the intrusion of quacks, it is a barren field for medical enterprise. We had an unfortunate occurrence as it concerned me and our winter labors, in the discovery of a body in my chamber. Be assured of my being Very Respectfully yours, JOHN THURSTON."

People from all parts of the country seem from this time on to have been constantly intruding upon the good nature of Dr. Spalding by asking innumerable favors. Thus I have before me a letter from a lawyer in Portsmouth asking for information concerning a case in which the Captain of a ship had cast her away fraudulently, another from Governor Plumer asking for books to be chosen and forwarded to his country residence, one from Mr. Hurlbut, introducing a clergyman who wishes to see the sights of New York, and here is a touching appeal from Virginia. Of the writer, Dr. J. C. Campbell I have found no traces, but he had probably become acquainted with Dr. Spalding's name as attached to the Circulars concerning the Pharmacopœia, now reaching every American Physician.

"Willsburgh, Brooks Co., Virginia, Sept. 13, 1819. Sir: You will please excuse the liberty I now take in troubling you on this occasion, being with you in a personal view totally unacquainted, though fortunately not so with your character. In fact, it is on the latter I depend, not only for an excuse, but for compliance with my request. Being unacquainted with any gentlemen in your City

on whom I could depend, I have taken the liberty for the above reason to request that you should make inquiries in the N. Y. Hospital, for a young man named B. Wells.

He entered the Hospital in July being taken with a fever which he caught on his way from New Orleans. Immediately after his admission he wrote his parents, but since, they have not heard from him. They being totally unacquainted in that place, and not knowing how to act, have requested that I should make this application, and save them the trouble and expense incident to such a long journey. Humanity, I hope, will be sufficient inducement for you to make the inquiry wanted and also take the trouble of writing me the account of their son as soon as possible. By so doing you will relieve afflicted parents and oblige your Most Ob'd't J. C. CAMPBELL.

N. B. Being unacquainted with your address and anxious that information might be rec'd by some means, I have written not only to you, but to the Hospital, lest it might miss you."

One of Dr. Spalding's patients at this time was Mrs. Trevett, the wife of a Hero who in these days would have deserved the Carnegie Medal, though he might not have received it, owing to the Red Tape which so seriously interferes with its proper distribution.

Samuel Russel Trevett, U. S. N. (1783–1832), obtained his academical and medical degrees at Harvard, practiced in Boston, and then served so ably as Surgeon's Mate in the Navy in the War of 1812, that he was commended publically for bravery and skill. Commodore Decatur asked for his services before his fatal duel with Barron. As a passenger on the Steamer "Phœnix" which was burnt on Lake Champlain in September, 1819, he saved many lives.

He then wished to resign from the Navy, but reluctantly consenting to remain, it proved his ruin and his death. For, at a Court Martial he offended a superior officer by his testimony, and was, out of spleen, ordered to a vessel inferior to his rank. Accepting this degradation, he nevertheless protested against the "Peacock" being sent to Cuba, then reeking with Yellow Fever. The orders were insisted upon, many of the crew fell ill, several died. Thereupon, the "Peacock" was ordered home, but directly upon her arrival Dr. Trevett died, also, from the Yellow Fever.

It will be seen from his brief letter that Dr. Spalding had written to him in Boston, concerning the condition of Mrs. Trevett, at that time ill in New York, and under his care.

"Boston, April 24, 1819. Dear Sir: Accept my thanks for your letters. I am happy to find by them that Mrs. Trevett's health and strength are improving. The train of unpleasant symptoms which arose while I was at New York, was extremely alarming, and there is no room to doubt it was interrupted by the judicious exhibition of your medicine. I feel grateful to you for all your attentions. As my Father is going to N. York, I thought it might be pleasing to you to have the book from Dr. Jackson,[1] transmitted by him. He will probably remain there ten or 12 days, and will take it back with him, or you can keep it till my visit, as most agreeable to yourself.

The letter for Mr. Austin [2] I gave to his Brother, Elbridge Gerry [3] and who I supposed would deliver it sooner than I could. A few days ago I had a letter from Rev. Mr. Alden. He and family are well and he informed me Martha was agreeably married to Patrick Farrelly, a worthy gentleman of the bar, at Meadville. With Respectful Sentiments, I am Sir, Yours, S. N. TREVETT."

A few months later Dr. Spalding was made happy by this unexpected gift from Dr. Trevett.

"Boston, Oct. 19, 1819. Dear Sir: You will confer upon me a particular favor by accepting the enclosed note of $100, the first that I have received since my return to this place. I beg you to rest assured that no man can feel a more grateful sense of your unwearied zeal and kindness than I do for those you have bestowed on myself and my family.

I am very Respectfully, Your much obliged servant, S. N. TREVETT."

The following letter from Dr. Shattuck tells of his accident and illness, of which I find no mention elsewhere.

"Boston, May 7, 1819. Dear Sir: Dr. Tho's Sewall [4] late of Ipswich in this State, a physician of respectability, hands you this. He desires to render the present, a journey of improvement; any attentions you may show him, not inconvenient to yourself, will confer a favor on me.

[1] "The Book" was Lordat "On Hemorrhages."

[2] Mr. Austin was a Portsmouth Merchant.

[3] Elbridge Gerry was the Governor of Massachusetts who "Gerrymandered" that State, much to his political disadvantage.

[4] Dr. Sewall (1787–1845) practiced in Ipswich and Essex, Massachusetts, and was the author of many medical papers. He finally moved to Washington where he served as Professor of Anatomy in the Columbian University. He investigated the "Pathology of Drunkenness," wrote a treatise on this subject, and after its translation into German, he obtained an international reputation as an original investigator of the effects of alcohol.

Very many sins of omission have I been guilty of toward you, in not having replied to your letters. Your pamphlet "On Continued Fever" arrived just as I was convalescing from a Typhus Gravior. The book I read with much care intending to furnish you with strictures, but before I had completed my determination, an accident which had threatened my life, disabled me for several weeks. Your enterprise in having prepared a National Pharmacopœia, I verily believe will attain a prosperous conclusion.

I will write you soon, and more in detail. With great Respect, I have the Honor to be, My Dear Sir, Your Ob'd't Serv't., GEO. C. SHATTUCK."

Whilst Dartmouth was passing through her ordeals with the State, Dr. Alexander Ramsay seeing a chance to incorporate in New Hampshire his private medical school, now in Fryeburg, Maine, visited Concord in June, 1819, and spoke before the Legislature and the Medical Society. Writing concerning this and other items he mentions his pupil Dr. Richard Russell (1785–1835), who practiced in Great Falls, New Hampshire.

"Concord, N. H., June 6, 1819. My Dear Sir: Long since, immediately in course, I transmitted a certificate which to me appeared for your interest with the Board of Pennsylvania College.

You have not said how events turned out, neither have you noticed the business I took the liberty of troubling you with. I know you are much engaged. Pray favor me with a line by the bearer my former pupil Dr. Russell. I presume you would take it ill, did I not hand you my communication which was delivered before the Legislature and Medical Society of this State. Assure Mrs. Spalding that I recollect her and her family with interest. Believe me, Dear Sir, Your Friend, ALEX. RAMSAY."

Ramsay returned to Concord in the following year with a fine display of preparations, many of which had been made by Dr. Spalding, and once more urged his claims before the Medical Society, but had leave to withdraw; one medical School in the State, that at Dartmouth, was enough.

This is now a suitable place to insert some letters from Dr. Usher Parsons (1788–1868), of the U. S. Navy, a very intimate friend of Dr. Spalding, and his family. This distinguished physician was born in Alfred, Maine, and after studying with Dr. Warren in Boston was appointed Surgeon's Mate in the Navy and ordered to the Canadian frontier. Fortunately for him, both of his superior medical

officers were ill, so that the care of the sick fell wholly on him; at the Battle of Lake Erie he was the only surgeon on duty. During that conflict he attended to over one hundred wounded and saved all but three. For his skill and intrepidity under fire he was at once promoted to full Surgeon. He continued his studies after the War of 1812, and obtained a degree at Brown University, where he was later elected Professor of Physiology and Anatomy. After retiring from the Navy he practiced in Providence, Rhode Island. He wrote many papers, one of which "On a Remarkable Gun Shot Wound of the Thorax," and another, "On the Introduction of Medicine into the System through the Veins," were highly regarded. He also wrote two books that were famous: "The Sailor's Physician," and "A Life of Pepperell."

He was repeatedly elected President of the State Medical Society, and altogether was a man far above the level of the practitioners of his era. I like to think of Usher Parsons because he gave my Father a fishing line and sinker to use off of the wharves of New York City.

Dr. Parsons at this time had been at Alfred on leave and had visited Portsmouth to see relatives in New Castle, his Mother having been Miss Abigail Frost Blunt of that village. Reaching Boston, he had found a note from Dr. Spalding asking him to advertise the business of the Pharmacopœia, and here is his reply.

"Boston, July 1st, 1818. Dear Doctor: I returned this morning from the Eastward, and had the pleasure of finding your favor, in the Post Office. Mr. Hale, Editor of the "Daily Advertiser and Weekly Messenger" appeared very willing to insert the paragraph concerning your Pharmacopœia, and the paper containing it shall be forwarded tomorrow. Since I last wrote you, the faculty of this town and State have expressed themselves more favorably toward the Pharmacopœia than formerly, and I have no doubt will co-operate with the New York Medical Societies. . . . Your request respecting the odd volume shall be properly attended to.[1] I am sorry that my absence prevented my receiving your letter earlier, particularly on account of the package you purposed send-

[1] The odd volume was needed to complete a set of Mavor's "Works" which my Grandfather had given as a wedding present to his wife. Oddly enough this missing volume which, as we shall later see, Dr. Parsons could not discover in 1819, I had the pleasure of finding in 1913, and so completed the Set.

ing by me to Europe, as I fear there will be hardly time for it to reach me before we sail. I, however, think that if you have it in readiness when this reaches you, it will answer to forward it to me as we shall probably not sail under a week from this. At any rate it can with perfect safety be sent by a Merchant vessel to Russia, where it will find me as late as October, and ours being the only American Frigate in that quarter can be very readily found by any Merchant vessel that is about to sail there. Your friends in Portsmouth, I was yesterday informed were all well. I shall be glad to execute any farther commands for you in Russia, London, France or the Mediterranean.

Accept for yourself and family, the best respects of Your Friend and Servant, USHER PARSONS."

In his second letter Dr. Parsons writes:

"Naples, May 30, 1819. Dear Doctor: I am favored with an opportunity of writing you by a gentleman now bound to New York. I was disappointed in my expectations of seeing London on my way to Petersburg, and of course was unable to attend to your request concerning some books that you wished to purchase. Our ship wintered in Messina (Sicily) from which we sailed for this place a few weeks since. During our stay here, I have been favoured with an introduction to some of the leading members of the Medical faculty, among whom is Chevalier Assilini,[1] author of a work "On the Plague," translated by (our) Dr. Miller. He has also written on diseases of the Eye and described some improvements of his own on instruments for making an artificial pupil; and other works on various professional subjects, copies of which he was kind enough to present me. But the greatest effort of his genius has been directed to the improvement of nearly all surgical instruments, or rather to the alteration of them, for, in my humble opinion, careful and candid investigators will report only partially in favour of his alterations, and say he has improved upon about half of those he has altered. I believe some account of them has appeared in the London Medical Journal. He presented me with a set of Plates of his instruments, which I hope to have an opportunity ere long of exhibiting for your inspection. I showed him your circular concerning your projected Pharmacopœia, a copy of which he desired to possess as soon as it was published.

[1] Piero Assilini (1765–1840) was educated at Milan, and practiced Obstetrics and Surgery. He followed Napoleon as Military Surgeon, for years, and after recovering from the plague wrote, in conjunction with Larrey, the book which Dr. Parsons mentions. His "Treatise on the Eye" appeared in 1811. He later served as surgeon to St. Ambrose's Hospital in Milan and his improvements in obstetrical forceps were highly praised.

It was this gentleman that Sir Robert Wilson [1] mentions to have been requested by Bonaparte to poison the French soldiers at Jaffa, but he denies the fact as Sir Robert first states it, and has made him, in part, retract his assertions.

The Chevalier was an intimate companion of Larrey, was in all the campaigns with him, and received the same honorary titles from the Emperor.

The physician of the City Hospital has just favored me with an account of a Cæsarean Operation lately performed, some particulars of which I will mention. The subject had been very much deformed by the rickets, was about 3 feet 10 inches high. The incision was made in the Linea Alba, extending from the umbilicus to the pubis, and the fœtus removed without much difficulty. The patient bore the operation very well and bade fair for a recovery, but was attacked with violent symptomatic fever on the fifth day and died on the seventh. The child is now doing well, is two months old, and I think of the usual size for that age. I mention this Case, because the operation is a rare one and seldom more successful. It has, however, been performed in France within the year past, with complete success to both Mother and Child. We sail from this to Barbary and Gibraltar, and thence to Marseilles, where I expect to leave the Ship and return home through Paris and London. Accept, Dear Sir, the most Friendly Regards, of your Most Obed't USHER PARSONS."

In Dr. Parsons' third letter we get a wonderful view of Parisian Medicine and Surgery.

"Paris, November 29, 1819. Dear Doctor: Having been busily engaged for two or three months in attending Hospitals and Medical Schools, I have thought that it would be probable that you might feel some curiosity to know how I have found them. These establishments are so numerous and employ so many Lecturers and Professors, that strangers at first sight would believe that the entire attention of the whole city is directed toward them. I have attended the lectures of some whose names are familiar to you, particularly Dubois,[2]

[1] Sir Robert Wilson (1777–1849) took part in all the great battles of the Napoleonic era and then served as Governor of Gibraltar. During the riot connected with the obsequies of Queen Caroline, Sir Robert sided with the populace and was dismissed the service. Obtaining a seat in Parliament he was re-instated. His fame is based chiefly upon his success in obtaining abolition of corporeal punishment in the Army.

[2] Anton Dubois (1756–1837) studied with Desault, rose high in surgery, and was Professor of that art in the Ecole Chirurgicale. He was clever, dexterous, and of great presence of mind in those emergencies which were much more dangerous in days before ether than now. Renowned as an obstetrician, he was embarrassed in managing the

Dupuytren,[1] Albert and Larrey, on Surgery, and Vauquelin,[2] Gay Lussac,[3] Thenard,[4] and Hauy[5] on Chemistry. It is difficult to

Empress in child-bed, so that Napoleon had to say to him, "Don't be afraid of the Empress; treat her just as you would the wife of a grenadier of my body-guard."

[1] Guillaume Dupuytren (1777–1825) was famous but terribly jealous of his contemporaries. He acted as surgeon at the assassination of the Duc du Berri, and was bold enough to enlarge the cardiac wound made by the murderer's knife, with a view of obtaining better purchase for sutures. The result was, however, fatal. Dupuytren once charged $400 and expenses for visiting a patient at Brussels and performing a minor operation. "Dupuytren's Contraction" (of the fingers) remains a classic in surgery to this day and is likely to endure forever.

[2] Louis Nicholas Vauquelin (1763–1829) was driven from home because he would rather read than labor. He settled in Paris and became a renowned chemist in spite of the machinations of his rivals. He wrote indefatigably on the chemical industries of France, and cultivated the manufacture of Iron, Alum, and Wine.

[3] If fertility of expression of permanently valuable thoughts is a test of greatness, then Jean Louis Gay Lussac (1778–1850) was the greatest chemist of all time, for his works outnumbered in worthy contents, those of all other men of this profession. He also took early to ballooning, rose higher in the air than any aeronauts of his time, and in so doing made many high-level experiments. A story is current of his dropping from a balloon to lighten it, a chair, which invitingly and much to her amazement, fell alongside a maid who was milking a cow. Gay Lussac exploited iodine and cyanogen, and at one time injured his eyes by an explosion. He was of immense service to France by inventing a means of determining instantaneously the percentage of alcohol in liquors. Having in mind on his death bed the possibilities of electricity in carrying thought and speech to a distance he said, "What a pity to die, when things are looking so interesting."

[4] Baron, Louis Jacques Thenard (1777–1857) was studying with Lavoisier when that extraordinary chemist was condemned to the guillotine. Thenard was Professor of Chemistry at the Polytechnique, discovered the exquisitely beautiful blue which bears his name, and was an inseparable friend of Gay Lussac.

Thenard accidentally swallowed corrosive sublimate in the presence of his Class, and then said: "My Children, I am a dead man, for I have taken sublimate by mistake." The scholars dashed from the Hall, pillaged adjacent grocery shops for eggs, gave him all the white of egg that his stomach would stand and he was saved. After long suffering from gastritis Thenard's reception upon returning to the scene of his lectures was the most touching exhibition of public affection ever known in Paris.

[5] Rene Just Hauy (1743–1832), an Abbé, was a mineralogist. As a Priest he was proscribed during the Revolution but escaped the September Massacres of 1792. His treatise "On Mineralogy" was a chef d'œuvre. At his death the Nation purchased his minerals and gems.

determine which surgeon to rank first, Dubois or Dupuytren. These two are the oldest, but Dupuytren has been at the head of the Hotel Dieu several years, and during that time has performed more operations than all the other surgeons in Paris. I am willing to acknowledge him the best operator I have ever seen, although I think very highly of Dubois and Larrey. Larrey is surgeon to the Hospital of the King's Guards, which is but a small establishment. An opinion prejudicial to him prevails, that he is too fond of cutting: that he has frequently amputated where it was not necessary. Medical men are permitted to see his patients every Thursday, when he gives a particular history of each case, and performs some operation. The last time I was there I took the liberty of introducing myself to him, which he gave me no reason to regret doing. He inquired closely about the Hospitals in our country. I have found physicians here, very ignorant of the State of Medical Science with us, and yet very desirous to be better informed. This circumstance has induced me to supply one of the Medical Journals with a description of your contemplated National Pharmacopœia.[1] I have also had the honor to become acquainted with Pinel[2] and Cuvier.[3] Pinel is now far advanced in life, whilst Cuvier is going deeply into politics. He has been recently elected a Peer of France, and is a leading ultra royalist and a noisy one, too, at that. Sir Humphrey Davy[4] passed through here lately on his way to Italy, but he was very much inclined to look askant at everything in medicine, surgery, or chemistry as either unimportant or borrowed from England. Your friend in medicine, USHER PARSONS."

[1] In annotating this letter I have to say that when the attention of Louis XVIII was called to the paper by Dr. Parsons in which mention was made of the proposal by Dr. Spalding for an American Pharmacopœia, he directed the Pharmacopœia Gallica to be continued until completed.

[2] Phillipe Pinel (1745–1826) came to Paris before the Revolution and became first known medically by his translation of Cullen's "Nosology." His fame was extended by his unbounded exertions in freeing lunatics from chains. He was the First Great French Alienist, and very successful in obtaining the lives of men proscribed in the Revolution. Proscribed himself, he escaped and lived long to labor for the amelioration of the Insane. Pinel was present, as a National Guardsman, at the Guillotining of Louis XVI, and wrote an exact account of the affair, which has become historical.

[3] Georges Charles Leofric Cuvier (1789–1823) was The Naturalist of his era; a genius in comparative anatomy and Natural History. Possessed of a wonderful memory he learned his facts, and then without notes composed his papers for publication.

[4] Sir Humphrey Davy (1778–1829) whom Dr. Parsons met in Paris was England's Greatest Benefactor by his discovery of the Miner's afety Lamp, January 9, 1816.

We now come to the last letter of this interesting series from Dr. Parsons.

"Ship "Harmony," At Sea, January 16, 1820. Dear Dr. I called at the book store in St. Paul's Church Yard as you desired, and inquired for Mavor's Travels, but found the old bookseller you mentioned had discontinued business, and that the book store had not a single volume, nor even a whole set of that work. I called also at several stores where odd volumes of publications are sold, and believe I could have purchased separate volumes of almost any work that could be mentioned excepting this particular one, nor could I find even a whole set of Mavor[1] in but one book store in London. . . . I have passed a month in the medical schools and Hospitals of London much to my satisfaction and I hope, improvement. Although I think better of the Paris Schools for Anatomy and Surgery, yet the other branches, particularly Pathology and Therapeutics are better understood and taught by the London professors than by those of Paris. Were I to be asked which surgeon of London enjoys the highest reputation, it would puzzle me to answer. Mr. Abernethy[2] is undoubtedly the most engaging, and valuable lecturer. Mr. A. Cooper has the most practice. Charles Bell has contributed most for the Press, yet Sir Everard Home,[3] Sir Wm. Blizzard,[4] and Mr. Cline Senr. are considered by

[1] William Fordyce Mavor (1758–1837) taught school at Woodstock, England, under the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough, compiled many books for instruction, and his "Voyages, Travels and British Tourist," in 30 Volumes is a Classic though now sadly neglected. No Collection of this sort ever met with such success as did this by Mavor.

[2] John Abernethy (1764–1831), surgeon to St. Bartholomew, was an enthusiastic Hunterian, and in his lecture thoroughly exploited the specimens from Hunter's Museum. When young, he was bold as a surgeon, but with age became too conservative. His great hobby was, the constitutional origin of local diseases. He was an inspired and dramatic lecturer, but of an unfortunate disposition, probably due to a latent heart disease.

[3] Sir Everard Home (1756–1832) was a pupil and brother-in-law of John Hunter, served briefly as a Surgeon in the British Navy, and then built up a magnificent London practice. He aided Hunter in his lectures and practice but after Hunter's death was accused of destroying his priceless MSS., after plagiarizing from them for his own fame.

He was always "Going to" arrange Hunter's papers but never finished the task. Anne Home, his Sister, was Mrs. John Hunter, and author of the words of Haydn's tremendously successful song "My Mother bids me bind my hair."

[4] Sir William Blizzard (1743–1835) founded the London Hospital Medical School, and was surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. He was called a "Respectable" lecturer and a great stickler for forms. It was amusing to see him "Dressed to kill" in a Court Uniform, receiving officially,

the profession as equal if not superior to either of the above, and if they have contributed less for the Press their writings are of rather a superior stamp.

Besides these, there are a host of young surgeons striving for eminence; as Lawrence,[1] young Cline, etc. A great difference between the Paris and London Schools is in the expense of attending them. A ticket for lectures on any branch in London is about the same price as in Philadelphia, although the course is but about half the length, while in Paris the lectures are free. The price of a subject in London is from 2 to 5 Guineas in Paris from thirty to forty Cents.

A great degree of harmony prevails among the professors in London, perhaps more than in Paris, with the exception of a little squabble between Abernethy and Lawrence,[2] which took place a year or two since, and which ended in the discomfiture of Lawrence, nothing has occurred to disturb the peace of the Profession.

Among the American books on Medicine and its collateral branches that have found their way to Europe, no one has been so well received as Cleaveland's "Mineralogy," and Gorham's "Chemistry.[3]" Cleaveland's will be reprinted and generally circulated through England, and Mr. Brande[4] told me that he con-

in the dead house, the bodies of the lately hanged. His pamphlet "On pressure in the blood vessels," met with a good reception, medically. He was very proud of his poetry, especially of his "Ode on the Opening of the London Hospital," and used to have Consultation Hours at a Coffee House in Cornhill.

[1] Sir William Lawrence (1783–1867) studied with Abernethy, demonstrated for him, and succeeded him as Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's and Lecturer at the London Hospital Medical School. He was a man of sound judgement and a fair operator. He will remain long known for his "Diseases of the Eye" one of the earliest and one of the best books on that organ ever written.

[2] The "Squabble" between Lawrence and Abernethy was this. Lawrence published in 1819 a "Lecture on Physiology, Zoology, and Natural History of Man" which was saturated with Materialism, a sentiment which compelled Abernethy and his colleagues to hold up their hands in holy horror as contrary to Sacred Writ. Lawrence put a bold face on his "blasphemy" but in order to quiet the storm which he had raised he exported the entire edition of the book to America. When peace once more reigned, the "Lectures" appeared in many editions.

[3] John Gorham (1783–1829), a friend and associate of Dr. Spalding in the Pharmacopœia and Erving Professor of Chemistry at Harvard. His text book on Chemistry was as highly praised at home as abroad.

[4] William Thomas Brande (1788–1866) was an apothecary in London, then a chemist and finally the successor to Sir Humphrey Davy. He was very intimate with Home who gave him much analytic work to do. Brande was a man of high renown but was neither a Davy, nor a Faraday. His "Dictionary of Pharmacy" was one of the most useful books ever put into the hands of students.

sidered Gorham's "Chemistry," a most excellent and complete digest of everything at present known on that science. Rush: "On the Yellow Fever," and "On the Mind," are, however, from their greater age in more extensive circulation. I have met with the latter in the Medical Libraries of Russia, Denmark, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, France, and England.

I must conclude by telling you that I shall probably pass through N. Y. in the course of a month or two, and shall then have an opportunity of saying more than at present concerning Europe. Yours with Great Esteem, USHER PARSONS."

Regretting now, that we have no more letters from Dr. Parsons, I turn to the last one extant from Dr. Smith to whom Dr. Spalding had sent his paper "On Goitre," printed in "The Repository" about this time.

"New Haven, April 4, 1819. Dear Sir: Your favour dated Feb. 7, came to me long after date. Respecting the subject of your inquiry, that is the Goitre in Vermont and New Hampshire on the banks of the Connecticut river; the number of persons affected with that disease within that region is very small, and the number of persons so affected when compared to the whole population in any given district is constantly diminishing. The facts relating to Goitre so far as I have been able to ascertain them by observation or by reading are the following: The goitre is a disease peculiar to fresh water countries, that is, to the interior parts of the country remote from the sea, and without the influence of its atmosphere. I speak generally, for I believe there have been a few solitary instances of persons having a goitre who have always resided in the neighborhood of the sea, but such cases are rare. The children of parents who have removed from the vicinity of the sea to the interior of the country are more liable to goitral swelling than the children who are born of parents who have been born and brought up in the interior of the Country. This will account for the disease diminishing, as the country grows older. Females are more liable to goitre than males.

Respecting the pathology of goitre, it is obscure. The enlargement of the Thyroid Gland depends chiefly if not wholly on the enlargement of the blood vessels of the gland. I once dissected the body of a woman who had a large goitral swelling, and I injected the arteries very full before I dissected, and on examination I found the four arterial trunks which go to the gland astonishingly enlarged; One of them was larger than the internal carotid artery, and the four exceeded the 2 carotids. The bulk of the tumor was made up of wax contained in the arteries as there was no appearance of any extravasations of wax out of the vessels.

Respecting treatment; while the disease is small it is often re-

moved by the patient changing his residence from the interior of the country to the seashore. As to what Dr. Nathan Frank [1] has said, he must have been more acute in his observations than I have been, as I have been acquainted in the country to which he refers for more than Forty years, and if I were to hazard a conjecture respecting the number of cases affected with goitre compared with the whole number of persons in this region, I should say that they did not amount to one in five hundred. New, and Old, I know, are relative terms, but Westmoreland at the time he was there had been settled nearly a hundred years.

I am with sentiments of esteem your Obedient Servant, NATHAN SMITH."

This is the last letter extant from Dr. Smith who outlived his younger friend by seven years, dying early in 1829. In addition to the information concerning this justly celebrated physician, already shown by his letters here printed, it should be said that he was the first to trephine for inflammatory conditions of bones, and that he twice appeared as an expert in law suits in Maine, once in a case of alleged malpractice and once in a case of murder.

The year 1819 brought to Dr. Spalding many papers regarding the settlement of the estates of his Father, Col. Dyer Spalding, and of Mrs. Spalding's Father, Captain Peter Coues, but they may be condensed into the fact that from the Spalding estate came $1500 and land in Cornish and from the Coues estate $3000, all of which must have been welcome with a large family to support in New York.

The Castleton, Vermont, Medical School, was also founded about this time and one of the Faculty, a personal friend, Dr. Bachelder, asked for information to this effect:

"Castleton, Vt., Dec. 3, 1819. Dear Sir: Will you have the goodness to inform me, whether there is any person in your city who could make models, similar to those employed in the Pennsylvania University for demonstration of the Eye, Ear, Brain, etc.? Also, whether anatomical researches can be followed with perseverance, industry and convenience in any of your Institutions? I believe it is the intention of the gentlemen who stand at the head

[1] Nathan Frank was a physician in Windsor, Vermont. When he said that most of the women in that region suffered from swollen necks, and that it could be cured by spending a winter in a seashore City like Boston, Dr. Spalding jokingly suggested that if going to a large city for the winter was a cure, then most of the women in New England would soon be having very much swollen necks.

of the Vermont Academy of Medicine to depute some person to visit New York or Philadelphia for the purpose of providing models, and making anatomical preparations for the use of that Institution. On behalf of these gentlemen, I write to you for the purpose of obtaining the desired information. I have the honor to be, Sir, Yours, etc., J. P. BATCHELDER."[1]

An interesting letter in the following Spring, from Dr. Barker of Gorham, Portland, and now Gorham, again, reveals the mental activity of a physician well over seventy.

"Gorham, March 21, 1820. Dear Sir: Your cases were very acceptable. I am like a Bee in quest of honey from every salubrious plant. I feel no prepossession in favor of any preconceived opinion. "One Impartial, well authenticated case" says Dr. Fisher [2] is worth a dozen theories. There are various ways to remove pulmonary affections and various means are required to effect this purpose. I am of that craving disposition that I wish for more cases which may tend to alleviate human misery, or rather afford instruction for that purpose. Our Maine representatives in Congress will readily frank any letters directed to me, Ezekiel Whitman[3] and Prentiss Mellen,[4] both of Portland, my friends. I sent a subscription paper sometime since to Mr. Daniel Johnson of N. Y., how he succeeds I have not heard. It occurred to my mind that your influence among physicians might enable you to procure some subscribers, where his might be wanting.

Dr. Fisher our President took a paper and engaged to use his influence to procure subscribers. Others have done so. Will you, my Dear Sir, afford me your assistance? Would it be worth while to send one to Albany? Please dispose of them as you may judge

[1] John Putnam Batchelder (1784–1868) practiced in Charleston, New Hampshire, Castleton, Vermont, and in New York. He lectured on Anatomy at Castleton and at the Berkshire Medical School, wrote "On Fractures" and "On the Morbid Heart," performed rhinoplastic and necrosis operations boldly and early, in the history of American Surgery, and accumulated a vast collection of Medical Notes in a Short Hand, which he finally could not decipher himself.

[2] Dr. Joshua Fisher (1760–1833) was Surgeon on a Revolutionary Privateer and after captivity and escape he studied medicine in France, and then came home. He practiced at Beverly, Massachusetts, was President of the State Medical Society, and founded by will, the Fisher Chair of Natural History at Harvard.

[3] Ezekiel Whitman represented Maine for several years in Congress and was a Chief Justice of that State until 1849.

[4] Prentiss Mellen (1764–1840) practiced law in Biddeford and Portland, Maine, was Member of Congress and United States Senator, and Chief Justice for several years. Maine still regards him as one of her most celebrated sons.

proper. The communications which I have received will render the work valuable and interesting, exclusive of my own observation. I have received Dr. Hall Jackson's[1] "Observations on the Putrid Sore Throat" printed in 1786, which Dr. Cutter and Dr. Tilton advise me to insert, as it is a rare work and a correct history of the disease which originated in Sanford County of York and progressed Eastward. It also prevailed at that time in Quebec and Rhode Island. Previously to this, in 1784, the puerperal fever prevailed in Portsmouth and in Maine as an epidemic, in which I had much practice, and made several dissections which show the inflammatory nature of the disease. But, we feared to bleed till many died. The lancet was then used in parturition as a preventive, followed with emetics and cathartics, with success. . . Wishing you success in all your undertakings, I am, Dear Sir, Your Sincere Friend, JEREMIAH BARKER."[2]

One of the highest medical positions ever attained by Dr. Spalding was that of Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Trustees of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the City of New York, that committee including Dr. Francis,[3] Dr. Watts [4] and Dr. Mac Neven.

[1] Dr. Hall Jackson (1739–1797) was a Revolutionary Surgeon who studied abroad and ultimately practiced in Hampton and Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Whilst abroad he received honorable mention for an ingenious invention by which he extracted from a gun-shot wound, a bullet which had baffled the skill of other surgeons. He was the only New Hampshire surgeon to attend to the wounded from that State, after the Battle of Bunker Hill. Some of his letters reveal a poor opinion of the Patriots of that era. He knew them all, as sending to his Hospital on Winter Hill, near Boston, unhealthy food and unwholesome supplies for the sick and wounded.

[2] This is written on a "Subscription Paper" entitled "Proposals for Publishing a History of Diseases in the District of Maine, from 1772 to the Present Time, with Biographical Sketches of Learned Physicians in Europe and America," to which is added, "An Inquiry into the Causes, Nature, and Treatment of Consumption," by Jeremiah Barker, Gorham, Maine.

[3] John Wakefield Francis (1789–1869) was Lecturer on Jurisprudence and Obstetrics, Professor of Materia Medica, and editor of "The American Medical and Philosophical Register" which had a brief life. Dr. Francis wrote "On the Insane" and "Dipsomania," but his Chief work was "Old New York," with valuable reminiscences of those whom he had known.

[4] John Watts, Jr. (1785–1831), was descended from General Watts of the Revolution, and from his son Dr. John who was driven from New York as a Loyalist. John Watts, Jr., obtained a degree at Edinburgh, established a private School for Medicine in New York, served as Surgeon in the War of 1812, and in connection with Drs. Mott and Stevens published "Notes of Cases seen in the New York Hospital."

During the summer of 1820 Mrs. Spalding and three of the children lived in Portsmouth, and by the kindness of Dr. Mitchill the following letter now reached Dr. Spalding still laboring in New York.

"Portsmouth, Aug. 23, 1820. My Dear Husband. Although I have not heard from you since I last wrote, I am in daily expectation of it by a vessel that is expected from N. Y. Dr. Mitchill who is now in town politely offered to take letters. I avail myself of this opportunity of writing to say we are all well and to forward to you some money. Samuel[1] has enclosed in his letter $100, and wishes you to write as soon as you receive it. Little Edward is much better than I have ever seen him before, and has a mouthful of teeth. I hope you are in good health, that Lyman and Alfred are well, and are good children. How is the health of the City? I hear there have been cases of Fever. We have very cool, pleasant weather here. I believe it was warmer before I came than it has been since. I am now going to find Dr. Mitchill to deliver the letter into his own hands. Yours Affectionately, ELIZABETH SPALDING."

I may at this point emphasize the fact that during the years 1817–21 the name of Dr. Spalding was on everybody's tongue, owing to the publicity attaching itself throughout the United States to his plans for the Pharmacopœia, and to his pamphlet, soon to be mentioned, "On Scutellaria Lateriflora (Scull Cap) in Hydrophobia." For this reason he received innumerable letters, a few of which only may be printed as throwing light on his career. Here is one from a European Celebrity (William Swainson[2] (1789–1855)), mentioning another (Dr. Thomas Stewart Trail (1781–1862)).

"Elm Grove, Liverpool, 1 Nov. 1820. Dear Sir: I seize the opportunity just now offering of sending you a small Tract by my friend Dr. Trail[3] and also begging your acceptance of the first

[1] "Samuel" is Mrs. Spalding's brother, Samuel Coues, and the others are her children.

[2] William Swainson was born in Liverpool and as a youth travelled to Malta and Sicily where he collected fishes. He next visited Brazil and wrote an account of his voyage. He then mastered Lithography, so as to draw, and to print in colors, the illustrations to his books. With his own hand he is said to have written eleven volumes of Lardner's "Encyclopœdia." Late in life he lost his fortune, and retired to New Zealand where he died. "The Zoölogical Work" of which he wrote to Dr. Spalding was his magnificent "Zoölogical Illustrations," with 344 colored plates in folio.

[3] Dr. Thomas Stewart Trail (1781–1862) was Professor of Jurisprudence at Edinburgh, and a remarkable lecturer, excessively proud

number of my New Zoölogical Work, which will serve as a specimen of its execution for yourself and friends. I am very anxious to procure it as wide a circulation as possible, from the love of science alone, for, the price, considering the execution of it will leave little or no profit on it. I shall therefore beg you will show it to such friends as you think most likely to desire it. In haste, believe me to remain, Dear Sir, Your very Faithful and Obed't Serv't, WILLIAM SWAINSON.

P. S. I have written to Mr. Stewart[1] last month and sent him a box of Brazilian insects. I should be very glad if you could point me out any Correspondents of your acquaintance through whom I could get (in exchange) Birds, Shells, or Insects of North America."

of his memory, by the aid of which he performed enormous feats of remembrance.

[1] Mr. Stewart was an engraver in New York.

CHAPTER XX.

The Case of James Cann, and Dr. Spalding's Pamphlet "On Scull Cap (Scutellaria Lateriflora) in Hydrophobia."

The student of American Medical History of the early part of the XIX Century will find no case more violently discussed than that of James Cann. It not only permeated Medical Literature for a year, but it was bandied to and fro in the Newspapers, as hardly any medical case before or since. Was it Hydrophobia? Was it Tetanus? If neither, what was it? Briefly stated, James Cann of New York was bitten in June, 1819, by a dog supposed to be mad. A few days later he was attacked with symptoms resembling those of hydrophobia, an infusion of Scull Cap was administered, and he recovered. The result was, of course, conclusive of the value of the plant. Yet, others said: "Did Cann have hydrophobia at all? Did Scull Cap cure him? Did he not get well of himself?"

Dr. Spalding interested himself in the study of scull cap, took pains to collect hundreds of alleged cases of hydrophobia said to have been cured or treated in vain by the herb, issued a compendium of them all, in a pamphlet, of which he sent copies throughout America and even to Europe, where the controversy was again carried on, as bitterly as it had been at home, and Cann was discussed in much the same way. "Did he have hydrophobia? Did Scull Cap cure him? Was Scull Cap according to Dr. Spalding of New York, of any value at all?"

Meanwhile, Mr. James Cann continued in perfect health until February, 1820, when he was again seized with convulsions, and in spite of scull cap and other drugs, he perished. Thereupon newspaper-vituperation against scull cap and mercury and physicians broke out again in a sort of insane fashion and lasted, until some other Novelty attracted public curiosity, and "The Case of Cann" passed into History.

Now it happened that around this Case, there grew an enormous mountain of letters to Dr. Spalding, who from the

start had insisted, that Cann's Case was one of Tetanus, and that Scull Cap in Hydrophobia was useless.

From this mass of correspondence I will quote a few letters which show the spirit of the times. The first one worth mentioning is from Dr. John Vancleve of New Brunswick, New Jersey, President of the State Medical Society. Writing from Princeton, July, 1819, he says:

"The observations I made in the Convention,[1] on Scull Cap as a preventive of hydrophobia, were founded on reports of its use which I could not discredit. These I had from Dr. Van Derveer, whose Father had used it as early as 1770. Young Dr. Van Derveer wrote me that he never knew it to fail but once. His father claimed to have used it more than 400 times with good results. Several cases of hydrophobia in Philadelphia occurring after the Convention I thought it my duty to let the local physicians know about the remedy, so I drew up a short Statement, and sent it to the "Eclectic Repertory." With Very Great Respect, JOHN VANCLEVE."

In a second letter Dr. Vancleve cited numerous cases of the asserted value of scull cap as a cure for hydrophobia, and urged Dr. Spalding to communicate directly with Dr. Vanderveer; "although he is very diffident, and might, be more communicative with me, as I treated his Father personally, in his last illness."

The elder Dr. Lawrence Vanderveer (1745–1815) was graduated from Princeton, and was afterwards one of its Trustees. The son, Henry, was also a Princeton graduate and after practising (it is said) 64 years, died in 1874. He was an Army Surgeon in the War of 1812. In an extremely long and intricate letter to Dr. Spalding, dated Roysfield, New Jersey, Aug. 17, 1819: he says that he had had but little knowledge personally of the value of Scull Cap in Hydrophobia, but that his Father had used it as far back as 1773, and had used it in 400 cases and not one of them ever suffered from hydrophobia, except in one instance in which after two persons had been bitten by a mad dog, one of them took scull cap and had no hydrophobia, whilst the other when about to drink his dose of decoction of scull cap lost it, by breakage of the pitcher, and died from hydrophobia. The only animal that he ever knew of not being

[1] "The Convention" was the States Medical District Convention for the formation of the Pharmacopœia held in Philadelphia, June 1, 1819, and of which Dr. Vancleve was a member.

cured by scull cap after a bite from a mad dog was one that could not be induced to take the dose.

In a second letter Dr. Vanderveer mentions other successful cures of alleged hydrophobia and many apparent cases of prevention after using it, and claims to know; "One Thousand instances in which it had prevented the disease appearing after bites from rabid animals." He mentions that his Father once practiced in Shepardstown, Virginia, and then in Roysfield, and that he was now practising in his Father's house. Both of these long winded letters are capital autographs, one signed Your Obed't Humble Serv't; and the other; Affectionately yours, Henry Vanderveer.

Two other letters on this topic from Dr. Levi Bartlett of Kingston, New Hampshire, are worth looking into.

Writing August, 19, 1819, he says:

"I am sorry to learn that hydrophobia is raging in the Middle States. We have but few cases here. I will inquire of the farmers whose hogs have died rabid, despite the scull cap. I will also send you some fresh specimens of the plant that you may satisfy yourself. I am rather surprised that credulity should attach such potent value to this innocuous plant. Many people about here have been bitten by rabid dogs, yet they never experienced any harm. Probably the same thing has occurred in other places where chance first ministered scull cap, and by their Not becoming mad, the effects were attributed to the wrong cause. I recall a girl who was bitten by a rabid dog in the gum of her upper teeth. The dog died, the girl had no treatment yet remained well forty years later. I have often thought that the Saliva washed away the virus, or acted as an antidote to that which was not thus completely washed away from the bite.

Why would not suction be the best thing for all such bites? I have in some instances applied blisters and they seemed to work well. The branch, I enclose, came from seed from Pennsylvania, where the Dutch believe it an infallible cure, and call it a WEER KRAUT (Wehr-preventive Kraut-Herb. J. A. S.) I shall try it if opportunity occurs. I sent some to Dr. Thacher who says it is genuine."

In a second letter, a week later, Dr. Bartlett says:

"Yesterday I accidently met a farmer whose hog had been bitten by a mad dog, and I inquired of him the treatment, in the presence of Dr. Amos Gale of Kingston, who happened along, and he informed me that he gave scull cap largely to the hog who died. We had no more time to talk, or I should have taken his Certificate to send you. With great esteem, etc., LEVI BARTLETT."

In a third and still more diffuse letter on Hydrophobia, Dr. Bartlett concludes the topic.

"I sometime past communicated a paper to your friend Pascalis, and suggested to him, that the virus of hydrophobia was of a Phosphoric Nature, so that the System becomes irritable, and that then, excitement of the organs of senses adds fuel to the flame and extinguishes the Vital Spark. With Esteem, LEVI BARTLETT."[1]

Another correspondent on Scull Cap was Dr. Stephen West Williams (1790–1855) of Deerfield, Massachusetts, a man of extensive practice and a Professor of Botany, Jurisprudence and Materia Medica at the Berkshire Medical School. He edited an excellent "American Medical Biography," and after emigrating to the West, died in Iowa, Illinois.

Writing August 13th, 1819, he says:

"Dear Sir: "In a letter to my friend Dr. Mott I mentioned that I was intending to collect facts on the efficacy of Scull Cap in Hydrophobia, as from my experience I never doubted its prophylatic powers. I intended also to write to Mr. Coleman of the "Post,"[2] for permission to insert my cases with those he had printed. But as you have anticipated me, I abandon my plan."

Dr. Williams then continues with Cases, and emphasizes "the Alexipharmic (Antidotal) Virtues" of scull cap in relieving animals bitten by mad dogs. He refers additionally to cases in the practice of Dr. Peter Fisk, and in a second later asserts that he and his Father had cured as many as thirty cases of hydrophobia with scull cap.

In conclusion he says:

"I can dispose of 20 copies of your pamphlet when ready. Your Sincere Friend, S. W. WILLIAMS."

[1] Dr. Levi Bartlett was Post Master, Selectman, Circuit Judge, Colonel, Justice of the Peace, Judge of Common Pleas and a busy physician.

[2] William Coleman (1766–1829) was born in Boston, practiced law in Greenfield, Massachusetts, and Walpole, Vermont, and then removed to New York, where he was at one time a partner with Aaron Burr. Having refused to fight a duel, Coleman was accused of cowardice by a third person, challenged him, and killed him. Characterized by his biographers as pugnacious and fiery, Coleman certainly proceeded with excessive vehemence in his newspaper-campaign in favor of Scull Cap as a preventive of hydrophobia. He established "The Evening Post" in 1801, and made of it from the start, the same success which it has continued to be ever since.

Dr. Peter Fisk then practising at Montague, Massachusetts, took up the story of one of the cases where Dr. Williams left it (a woman had been bitten by an apparently rabid puppy) and in his letter goes into an infinite detail of symptoms which might have been due to a dozen different diseases. The idea was, that the dog was mad, and died mad, and that the woman afflicted with various symptoms took large doses of a decoction of Scull Cap and recovered.

This letter was evidently handed to Mr. Coleman, the Editor of the "Post," for on it is pinned a slip of paper with Dr. Spalding's handwriting.

"Will Mr. Coleman be pleased to show Dr. Spalding his copy as he comes into town tomorrow morning?"

Omitting now, several letters on the absorbing topic of the day, I venture to print a part of one from Dr. Thacher.

"Plymouth, Aug. 3, 1819. Dear Sir: I am gratified to learn that you are investigating the antidotal properties of Scutellaria, and are about to publish a history of the cases in which it has been employed. From your habitual industry and perseverance important results may be anticipated. In reference to my letter published in the "Repository" in 1812, I recollect it was a hasty Address in consequence of a favor with which I had just been honored by Dr. Mitchill, and was not intended for publication.

I visited a boy within 48 hours after the bite was inflicted. The wound was large, and so contiguous to the mouth and salivary ducts that deeming excision inadmissible, I dilated the wound and applied nitric acid, and the affusion of cold water, which with the internal use of Scull Cap, in strong decoction twice a day, I directed to be persisted in about 30 days. At this precise period his parents were alarmed by the appearance of those symptoms which I had described to them as distinctive of the consequent disease, and which terminated fatally in 64 hours after the attack."

Dr. Thacher here proceeds to argue at great length, that the scull cap had no chance of proving its value since after a few days of use, the parents continued it in small and inefficacious doses, and that the quantity actually employed was trivial in amount. From this he wanders into a long discussion concerning statements made by Mr. Coleman concerning the difference in preventive powers of various specimens of Scutellaria. Interesting to the botanist, they have no value here.

Taking up the thread of Dr. Thacher's letter again, he says:

"You request my opinion respecting the Case of Mr. Cann, and it seems that the narrative is candid, and unexceptionable and affords ample evidence of the rabid condition, of the dog. A cursory review of the circumstances might impress the idea of a triumphant display of the curative virtues of Scull Cap. But, my friend, it is in our nature to embrace with avidity every occurrence co-incident with our views when in pursuit of the object of our solicitude.

I rely upon your influence to shield me from the imputation of presumption when I query whether Cann's Case may not be considered as a suspicious or even a fallacious one? The fact that he was seized with the supposed disease on the 7th day, and the absence of the most prominent symptoms of hydrophobia, will in my humble opinion warrant such a suggestion as we have no instance on record of an attack earlier than the 10th day and in a large number of cases it has been protracted to a much longer period. Whether a mild form of tetanic affection aggravated by a terrific imagination will not more rationally account for the complaint, I submit to your superior judgment. Similar examples have been reported nor are such accounted incredible by those who are acquainted with the astonishing effects of mental impressions, especially when proceeding from the fears and horrors occasioned by the bite of rabid animals. I wish you success and satisfaction in your undertaking and would willingly be a subscriber, as I shall be impatient to peruse the work as soon as possible. With Much respect, Your Friend JAMES THACHER.

P. S. I omitted to mention a circumstance in Cann's Case which has great weight in my mind: the very inadequate quantity of scull cap which he was directed to take! A teaspoonful and a half in a quart of water, and drink half a pint morning and evening! ! And this to combat the most formidable of all diseases! ! ! Would you not be willing to take an equal quantity of hemlock or Nightshade? Would you attempt to batter down a mountain by the force of an air bubble?"

Another physician consulted by Dr. Spalding was Dr. James Mease (1771–1846) who enjoyed throughout America a high reputation concerning hydrophobia, because of his graduating Thesis on that topic. Dr. Mease was very much thought of in medical circles after caring for Dr. Rush in his last illness. He wrote a "Geology of the United States," and a book on Philadelphia. His sensible views, as here laid down, are worth reading.

"Philadelphia, Aug. 28, 1819. Dear Sir: I read Cann's Case with attention, and I must declare to you that I thought at the time, the disease had little to do with the Canine Virus, or with any irritation excited on the nerves, by the dog's tooth, and the Scutellaria as little in the case. If you reflect upon the weakness of the infusion given, you will agree with me in the latter opinion. But, I have constantly said, that I would as freely use the Scutellaria as any other internal remedy after the disease had actually appeared, but I now believe that we ought to direct all our attention to the Spine, so as to relieve the origins of the nerves of the parts chiefly exhibiting morbid phenomena, from the pressure, under which they labor. My views you will see fully given in the two last Numbers of the "Recorder,"[1] which I will send you, together with a copy of my Inaugural Dissertation. Dr. Mitchill has my Diss., and also my "Observations" on Dr. Rush's opinion in favour of the inflammatory nature of the disease. Dr. Thacher has also given a summary of my remarks in one of his papers.

As to the preventive power of Scutellaria I entertain the same doubt as I do of all other preventives. Mr. Coleman not being a medical man is not aware how unreasonable it is, to expect that a remedy taken for a few weeks or months, and then omitted, can be entitled to the claim of Preventing a disease which may come on six months or a year afterward, or three years and nine months as in cases reported. Mercury has been given to produce salivation for weeks, and yet the disease has at length appeared. Can we therefore expect any vegetable, to leave more powerful impression on the system than Mercury! ! I think Dr. Reid [2] has given us the true clew to the cure of both tetanus and hydrophobia, and I wish you would read his book. I will throw no hindrance in the way of the use of Scull Cap as a cure for the disease and shall rejoice if it should prove a specific.

I admire Mr. Coleman's zeal, and think he merits the thanks of the world for his good intentions. If attention to the Spine should prove useless in any Case, I shall use Scull Cap. Accept my sincere thanks, J. Mease."

Dr. Spalding collated all the information which he received by letter and through the newspapers concerning scull cap and its alleged virtues as a prophylactic and cure in Hydrophobia, added condensed reports of its efficacy

[1] "The American Medical Recorder" was an excellent medical Journal; beautifully printed and artistically edited, it is good reading, even in these days.

[2] Dr. John Reid (1776–1822) was an Edinburgh Alienist of fame. His "Treatise on Hypochondriasis and Other Nervous Affections," is the work to which Dr. Mease refers.

issued in the "Post" and other papers, and issued a pamphlet on the topic, illustrated with a colored lithograph of the plant. Several of these pamphlets were now sent to correspondents in Europe and amongst the replies acknowledging their arrival, I find the following from Sir Robert Perceval (1769–1829),

Kildare Place, Dublin, January 29th, 1820.

"Dear Sir: I have to return my acknowledgements for your pamphlet on the use of "Scutellaria in Hydrophobia," which you were so kind as to forward to me. The subject is a most interesting one, and the more so to me, as no instance, well authenticated has ever come to my knowledge of the efficacy of any medicine in preventing the fatal termination of the disease when once it had begun to betray itself by such symptoms as you describe.

A considerable uncertainty affects the observations which might be supposed to establish the efficacy of the means employed for prevention; the variable period at which the disorder begins to discover itself, the unascertained madness of the animal supposed to be rabid, and the well ascertained fact, that, of many who have been bitten by one unequivocally so, some have escaped without the employment of any preventive means. These circumstances most contribute to give advantage to credulity or designing imposition. This letter will cover American Dollar Notes to the amount of One Guinea, which you will particularly oblige me in expending in the purchase of the herb carefully dried: it probably may contain some ripe seed. If not, I request you to procure a small quantity of seed and to send it along with the herb in the same packet. I waive any apology for imposing this trouble upon you, convinced as I am, that your zeal for the promotion of science and the relief of suffering humanity will plead excuse. Your Obliged Servant, ROBERT PERCEVAL."[1]

After sending a copy of the pamphlet to Baron Larrey, a letter arrived from the French firm of Rouviére, Marbeau, and Cotterelle of Paris, "Doctors in Medicine" and "Bureau of Consultations," of whom, however, no traces are to be found in Biographical Dictionaries. This letter begins by calling to Dr. Spalding's attention the very celebrated "Granules of Health" as made from the formula of the

[1] Sir Robert was born, studied, lectured and died in Dublin, Ireland. He lectured principally on Chemistry, was Inspector of Apothecaries in Ireland, Chief of the Prison Improvement Society, and Physician in Chief to his Majesty's Forces in Ireland. He was very active in putting an end to an outbreak of Puerperal Fever at the Rotunda, in 1820.

Th: Jefferson is much indebted to Dr. Spalding for the pamphlet on the use of the Scutellaria lateriflora in cases of Hydrophobia. paying little attention generally to the news-paper nostrums, their notice of this subject had escaped him, and it is now only that it is first made known to him thro the kindness of Dr. Spalding. the cases stated seem indeed so numerous, particular, and well-authenticated, as to found a reasonable hope that a remedy is at length discovered for this most afflicting of all human maladies. with his thanks for the communication, he prays Dr. Spalding to accept the assurance of his great esteem & respect.

Monticello Dec. 11. 19

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE SCULL CAP PAMPHLET

famous Dr. Frank,[1] and hoping that he will accept the gift of some enclosed, and adds that: "By using our Granules in your practice you will be an antagonist to those many dangerous medicines with which the world is now flooded." The Post Script adds: "Our chief reason for writing you, from whom the Baron Larrey has most recently received your pamphlet on Scutellaria Lateriflora, is to beg you to send us a specimen of the plant. We do not doubt its efficacy, but would be pleased to prove its value in the face of many other remedies likewise claimed as specifics. All that is done in Paris for a preventive is to cauterize the bite and to give mercurials abundantly."

A copy of the Pamphlet was also sent to Thomas Jefferson, who returned an admirable autograph, in which he regretted the ravages of hydrophobia, and hoped that the remedy for this afflicting disease had at last been discovered.

The medical magazines and newspapers of the United States continued to publish notices of the Pamphlet on Scull Cap, long after the death of Mr. Cann, but its real aim to prove, that the suggested remedy amounted to nothing as a prophylactic or cure, seems to have been entirely misunderstood, for it was still lauded to the skies as a great discovery. In order, finally, to set the profession and the public aright, Dr. Mitchill was obliged to come forward in the "Repository" with the following Statement:

"Of the famous Scull Cap, we should have nothing more to say, had not "Le Journal Universal de Paris" brought it once more to our notice with its thousands of wonderful cures from the Pamphlet of our Dr. Spalding. As the French Editor apprehends that despite this, it will soon be laid aside and forgotten, we are surprised that he should ask for the quantity to be given. But, our Author has not been understood by the French, and that he should no longer be at variance with them, we subject his letter to the editor of the journal just mentioned."

"Sir: I am constrained to say, that my pamphlet on Scutellaria, was written for the express purpose of bringing together all the

[1] Johann Peter Frank (1745–1821) was a great man of that era in the courts of Europe, lecturing on medicine at the Universities of Pavia, Petrograd and Vienna. He directed many army medical reforms in Austria and had reserved for his use a suite of apartments in the Imperial Palace at Schœnbrunn. He wrote "A Complete System of Medical Polity" which contains all of the public health ideas of today. The Granules of Health were exploited privately from his prescriptions. Beethoven often visited Dr. Frank with recent musical compositions.

evidence on which the public reputation of the herb rested, in order that the medical public might be better able to judge of the antidotal powers attributed to the plant. I did not pretend to arrogate to myself the right of intruding my opinion upon the public. But you have in your journal drawn an erroneous inference when you say that Three Hundred persons and a Thousand animals have been cured by the plant. What I did say, was, that it had been employed by Three Hundred and Fifty persons believed to have been bitten by rabid animals, and that in only Three instances did hydrophobia supervene, AND, that it is said to have been administered to more than a Thousand animals bitten by brutes supposed to be mad. You also say, that I pretend that Scull Cap is a specific against Hydrophobia. But, my pamphlet does not express any such opinion as being entertained by me. For, I have invariably declared both before, and since the publication of my pamphlet, that there was not sufficient evidence available to convince any medical man of the prophylactic or antidotal powers of Scutellaria. LYMAN SPALDING, M.D."

So far as can be discovered this was the last public mention of Scutellaria Lateriflora in Hydrophobia. Yet it is plain to understand that, what with all these public discussions on this dreaded disease, the Case of Cann, and the proposed Pharmacopœia of the United States, now well under way, the name of Dr. Spalding must have been very well known throughout the civilized world.

CHAPTER XXI.

A Brief Summary of what Dr. Spalding Accomplished in New York City, with Notes of Some of the Physicians with Whom He was Most Intimate. 1813–1821.

Immediately after arriving in New York, in 1813, Dr. Spalding delivered his letters of introduction, went about making acquaintances, attended the meetings of the Trustees of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and made frequent visits to the New York Hospital, as his Case Books show.

He called upon Mr. De Witt Clinton, the Jays, Dr. Hosack, was made much of by Dr. Mitchill, and by these friends was introduced to the Literati, Coleman, Drake and Halleck. He was chosen Secretary of the State Historical Society, and read papers before it "On the Connecticut River Valley," and "On New England Climate" in which he mentioned a fall in temperature of 52° between sunset and sunrise in Portsmouth. In company with Dr. Mitchill and Dr. Vancleve, he measured the temperature of the water of a well on Broadway, finding it 54° whilst the August air stood at 80°. He wrote for the Newspapers, reviews of lectures by Dr. Mitchill and Dr. Ramsay on Natural History, notices of a new Comet and a recent earthquake, and during an epidemic of fever he defended physicians who had been censured by the papers for trivial causes. When a physician of standing publicly claimed that quacks were curing the fever with "Catnip and Olive Oil," he inquired why that physician was not treating his patients in the same way and complained that it was unfair in this way to create false impressions against other physicians who were doing their best to find a remedy for the pestilence.

Dr. Spalding was also elected Secretary of the County Medical Society, a position which he held for life, and at its meetings read papers "On Fever," "Cataract," "Hernia" and "Amputations." Amongst his "Open Letters" to celebrated physicians, I find one to Baron Larrey "On Buffing and Cupping of the Blood," and to Dr. Wistar, one "On

Calcareous Concretions in the Knee Joint," and a second "On Preparations of the Nerves." In this he says: "It is something magnificent I assure you. You can see every nerve of its natural size." "The cerebral nerves are painted after the natural colors of the Rainbow, Red, for the 1st pair, Orange for the 2nd, and so on, whilst the 8th and 9th are painted in shades of Gray and Blue. The sympathetic is Canary, the Phrenic Greenish, the cardiac Bright Orange. The moment you cast your eye on this Preparation which I have succeeded in making, you recognize each nerve and its branches from the Colors.

Dr. Spalding was much interested in the study of tuberculosis, and fancied that, in addition to fresh air, he had found a cure in Sulphate of Copper.

The only Obstetrical paper which he wrote was concern- "Interlocked Twins."

His earliest medical paper was one written at Portsmouth on vaccination, in 1800, and his last paper was on the same subject in New York, in 1820. His only physiological paper was "On the Accommodation of the Eye," in which he argued that the crystalline Lens was moved to and fro by the extrinsic muscles of the Eye. He made frequent Post Mortem examinations, and reported an instance of the pelvis of a child of 5 containing in a cyst a well-formed fœtus.

As a student and teacher of Chemistry, he stood in the front rank at Hanover, and at Portsmouth, but after removing to New York he seems to have given more time to Anatomy, Surgery and Internal Medicine.

Amongst the physicians of New York with whom Dr. Spalding consulted and whom I find mentioned in his medical papers, was Dr. Richard Sharp Kissam (1763–1822), a fashionable surgeon and medical leader in New York for thirty years. He performed, for instance, 69 lithotomies with but three deaths. He was devoted to Horace, and to Zimmerman, the Mystic and Poet, whom he had met in Germany and who had presented him with a copy of his "Solitude" which Dr. Kissam highly prized and often showed to his friends.

Dr. Ansel W. Ives (1787–1838), another warm friend and frequent consultant, was a favorite scholar of Mott's, and noted for his very successful translation of Paris' "Pharmacologia."

Dr. Thomas Cock (1782–1869) with whom Dr. Spalding left his patients when out of town, was Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at Rutgers, and later, President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in New York. The City of New York gave him a Silver Service for his labors during an epidemic of Yellow Fever, but his final reputation was based on his skill as an obstetrician. Active in practice for years, he left few if any papers on medicine.

Dr. Hugh Williamson (1735–1819) with whom Dr. Spalding often served on Medical Committees of the County Medical Society and in consultations was a Nestor of the profession in those days. He had been in early life a Professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, but his mind finally turned to medicine, and he practiced for a while in North Carolina. He ultimately studied abroad, and after his return he settled in New York and was a famous man. That he was highly esteemed was proved by the fact that both Dr. James Thacher and Dr. David Hosack wrote a "Life of Dr. Williamson."

Dr. John Cummings Cheeseman (1788–1865) had the reputation of a conservative surgeon of high standing on the Staff of the Hospital. In an old notebook here at hand I observe that as he and Dr. Spalding were once walking from some consultation, they met Dr. Mott, Dr. Smith and Dr. Dykeman on a similar errand and as they sauntered along they talked of their respective Cases.

Dr. Joseph Mather Smith (1789–1866), just mentioned, took much of Dr. Hosack's practice upon his retirement, was a Lecturer on Clinical Medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and wrote many medical papers of considerable value at that time.

Dr. Jacob Dykeman (1788–1822), the third of this group of consultants, was a favorite student under Dr. David Hosack, and at an early age obtained a high position on the Board of Health of New York City, in which position he did a great deal of good by his energetic perseverance. He found time, additionally, to edit Duncan's "Dispensatory" and was regarded as a most promising young physician, when he suddenly died from overwork and a resultant acute tuberculosis of the lungs.

Dr. Valentine Seaman (1770–1817), a very kind friend to Dr. Spalding, is asserted to have been the first physician to vaccinate in New York, obtaining his vaccine personally

from Edward Jenner. He twice contracted Yellow Fever during his investigations to prove that it was not a contagious disease. Dr. Seaman early analyzed the medicinal value of the waters of Saratoga and wrote much concerning them, and he is also believed to have been the first physician to establish a School for Nurses in New York.

Dr. James Ludovick Phelps (1785–1869) often assisted Dr. Spalding in operations of various sorts. He had been one of Dr. Spalding's earliest pupils at Fairfield, but as that School did not at that time have power to grant degrees, Dr. Phelps obtained his at Philadelphia, served as Ship's Surgeon on a Privateer in the War of 1812, and then settled in New York. He wrote various medical papers which obtained considerable mention, one of them being "On Religion as an Element of Medicine," and another "On Spontaneous Reduction of Hip Joint Dislocations."

Dr. Eli Ives of New Haven, Connecticut (1779–1861), was fond of Dr. Spalding, gave him much assistance in forming the Pharmacopœia, demonstrated for Dr. Nathan Smith at Yale, became Professor of Theory and Practice at the Medical School at Yale, and was at one time President of the American Medical Association. He is said to have administered chloroform to insensibility as early as 1839, but did not use it surgically, at that time.

From a Notebook at my desk as I write, I find that Dr. Ives once called in Dr. Spalding for advice in a case of Lumbar Abscess when he was in New Haven.

Amongst other societies to which Dr. Spalding was elected a member were the American Antiquarian, The American Philosophical, The Preston (England) Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Societa Economica Agraria, dei Georgofili, of Florence, Italy.

Dr. Spalding was deeply religious, belonged to St. John's Parish in Portsmouth and St. Paul's Parish in New York, taught in the Sunday School of both Parishes, and was a Trustee of the Free Schools of New York. It was a bright day in his life when his friend, Dr. Mitchill, as President of the Trustees, presented to his daughter, Elizabeth, a Gold Medal for Scholarship.

When Dr. Spalding moved to New York only one physician, Dr. Bard,[1] drove to visit patients, but later on all

[1] (1742–1821); First President of College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York.

fell into the habit, as it saved being buttonholed on their rounds.

A bit of paper informs me that Grandfather's income for one year, his second in New York, was $1646. Beyond that I have no knowledge of what he made in practice.

He was asked at one time for the sake of public health to report the condition of Beekman Street, and here is a list of what he observed: Offal of fish and fowl, beef bones, barrels of shavings, potato peelings, decayed apples, corn cobs, crab and clam shells, chimney soot, pea pods, cellar rubbish, six loads of cow manure standing in the roadway for 24 hours, bricks, mortar, a dead hog, with a dead cat and hen lying alongside.

My Father, as I have said, used to fish off of Wall Street wharf as late as 1821, and once he followed with the crowd a cart containing a man with a rope around his neck and seated on his coffin, on his way to the foot of Wall Street where he was hanged from the yard arm of a brig.

A Portland, Maine, "Argus" of November 11, 1819, dates this occurrence for me.

One of the houses occupied by the Spalding Family was not far from the rear of one belonging to Aaron Burr, and the boys used to peep through the fence and if they saw Mr. Burr they would occasionally have courage to cry out: "Who killed Hamilton?" and then run for dear life.

The amusements of the Spalding family were few: a lecture, a concert, fireworks at Delacroix's Garden and, perhaps, a play, filled out the list. The family generally passed the summer in Portsmouth, but one year they lived on a farm at Bergen, Dr. Spalding coming over once a week on the ferry and then walking the rest of the way. On one occasion the family visited the Frigate "President" just before she sailed out to be captured by four British vessels, early in January, 1815. Lieutenant Babbitt, who had given them the invitation, was killed in this action.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PHARMACOPŒIA OF THE UNITED STATES: ITS ORIGIN AND COLLABORATORS. ACCIDENT TO DR. SPALDING. RETURN TO PORTSMOUTH, AND DEATH. 1817–1821.

FOR ten years during the daily interruptions of an active practice, I have done my best to elucidate the old documents on which this work is founded and to throw light in that way on the career of my Grandfather. I have followed in his footsteps with hardly a score of his own letters as a guide, and it is now my final task to mention what I have discovered concerning the composition of the Pharmacopœia of the United States, his closing work in medicine.

I think that Dr. Spalding first obtained the idea of a National Pharmacopœia from Barton's "Collections for an Essay toward a Materia Medica for the United States" read before the Philadelphia Medical Society, February 21, 1798. For in mentioning certain drugs, Barton says, "They should have a place in the Pharmacopœia of this Country, when such a Desideratum shall be supplied." In a similar essay of 1804, Barton repeats these words and causes them to be printed in Small Capitals. I know that in 1808, Dr. Spalding discussed the Pharmacopœia with Dr. Smith and Dr. Ramsay. It is furthermore probable that when Dr. Spalding visited Philadelphia, in 1809, and saw Dr. Barton daily, he conversed with him on the possible chances of ever composing a work so much needed by physicians.

Whether these surmises are true or not, it may be safely said that Dr. Spalding was the first physician in this country to read a paper on a National Pharmacopœia, and to offer a working basis for its foundation. Although a committee was appointed to carry out his idea, in the end, he did nearly all of the work, personally, and carried the book through to publication and sale. To him, then, the merit, such as it may be. Drugs may be less used than of old, but in that era they were the stock in trade of every physician. The practice of medicine then was the giving of drugs. Dr. Spalding not only consolidated all previous descriptions of

drugs into a pharmacopœia that should be National, but he set an example which physicians of other countries followed.

A History of the Pharmacopœia appears in every new edition of that Work, but its intimate history is better seen in the appended letters, which show its originator as the leader of a small band of intelligent physicians whom he rallied to his aid, and who accomplished their purpose in spite of the great difficulties of travel and communication by mail which then prevailed.

As I have already said, Dr. Spalding read before the New York County Medical Society, Monday, January 6, 1817, his paper setting forth the needs of a National Pharmacopœia: physicians were using different books in compounding their drugs, the names of those drugs varied everywhere, some drugs were inert, others were compounded on foreign standards, different textbooks were used in different medical schools of instruction, doses were unlike in various parts of the nation: in a word National Uniformity was imperative.

When his paper was finished a Committee was appointed, including Dr. Spalding and his personal friends, Mitchill, Hosack, Rodgers, Stevens, Watt, Post, Sterns, Sykes[1] and Beck.[2]

This Committee met at the house of Dr. Spalding, and from there he personally mailed the Circulars concerning the Pharmacopœia, to the entire medical world. The Committee reported progress, occasionally, to the County Society, and in 1818, they presented a Plan to divide the Country into Northern, Middle, Southern and Western

[1] James Sykes (1761–1822) of Dover, Delaware, was a very religious man, and in the midst of a wave of a fervent Revival, he was swept on the wave of Reform into the Governor's chair of Delaware, where he was a conspicuous success. When Dr. Edward Miller, of New York, died, Dr. Sykes, who had practiced side by side with him in Dover, took his practice and obtained fame as a lithotomist. Gout, however, getting, as we may say, a foothold upon him, he went back to Dover where he died.

[2] Theodric Romeyne Beck (1791–1855) was lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence for one term under Dr. Spalding's Presidency at Fairfield, and continued in that Chair until the school was dissolved. He then lectured on Materia Medica and Insanity in which he was greatly interested, at the Albany School. He edited for many years "The American Journal of Insanity," and with his brother John Broadhead Beck wrote the earliest book on "Medical Jurisprudence" in the world.

Sections, and to invite the State Medical Societies and local Medical Schools of that district to send delegates to a Convention to be held in 1819 in each Section. The Four Sections were to choose delegates to a National Convention, to be held in Washington, in 1820, at which time it was hoped that the work might be completed.

During these years, the news that the Pharmacopœia was underway brought to its originator many letters from which I choose for printing only those which throw light on the progress of the work. Here are two from Dr. Shattuck and Dr. Warren introducing to our notice a possible publisher for the Pharmacopœia when completed.

Dr. Shattuck's letter reads in this way:

"Boston, November 24, 1818. Dear Sir: Mr. Wait, proprietor of Thacher's "New England Dispensatory" hands you this letter. His object is to procure the countenance of your ablest Physicians to this valuable publication. He desires that it may become the American work, to be recommended to the public by the public teachers of medicine. Dr. Thacher has promised Mr. Wait to conform the next edition of the Dispensatory to the Pharmacopœia which you are now about establishing. Any suggestion you may make to Mr. Wait in facilitating the accomplishment of his design will be gratefully remembered, by Sir, Your Ob'd't Serv't, Geo. C. Shattuck."

and Dr. Warren's is nearly to the same effect:

"Boston, 24 Nov'r, 1817. My Dear Sir: I beg leave to introduce to you Mr. Wait of this town. Mr. W. is proprietor of Thacher's "Dispensatory," and is desirous to converse with you on the subject of the American Pharmacopœia. This, I had no doubt would be agreeable to you, as Mr. Wait may contribute to the prosecution of the plan, and you may, perhaps, be able to assist him if the American Pharmacopœia should go on. Mr. Wait is a gentleman of Intelligence and stands at the head of his profession here. I am with great regard, Y'r Friend, J. C. Warren."

Three months later Dr. Spalding must have been discouraged to learn from Dr. Warren, that Massachusetts was planning to issue a revised edition of its own Pharmacopœia.

"Boston, 21 March, 1818. Dear Sir: I feel myself very much obliged by your present of Ramsay "On the Brain,"[1] as I did not possess the book, before.

[1] Alexander Ramsay's "Brain" had a great run at this time, being well written and containing fine illustrations from plates engraved by the author.

Boston Nov. 24 1817.

Dr. Spalding, Sir,

Mr. Wait, Proprietor of Thacher's New-England Dispensatory, hands you this. His object is to procure the countenance of your abblest physicians to this valuable publication. He desires it may become the American work to be recommended to the public by the public teachers of medicine. Dr. Thacher has promised Mr. Wait to conform the next edition of the Dispensatory to the Pharmacopoeia you are now about establishing. Any suggestions you may make to Mr. Wait in facilitating the accomplishment of his design will be gratefully remembered by, Sir, Your Obt. Servt.

Geo. C. Shattuck

FROM DR. SHATTUCK ON THE PHARMACOPOEIA

At the last meeting of our Medical Society a Committee was appointed to revise and re-publish the Massachusetts Pharmacopœia, of which Committee, I have the honour to be chairman. The Comm: were also empowered to correspond on the subject with medical societies in other States, if they saw occasion. Should you have any remarks to make you will oblige us by transmitting them. We propose that the work shall proceed slowly.

Dr. Jackson and myself have determined to relinquish the practice of midwifery.[1] The mode in which we wish to do it, is to transfer that business to the hands of a well-educated female. We wish to inquire of you, whether there are any such females in New York, and would be extremely obliged by your ideas on the subject.[2]"

The rest of the letter refers to the vacancy in the Anatomical Chair at Philadephia, and has already been inserted in the Chapter of this work dealing with that episode after which Dr. Warren signs himself; Believe me, My Dear Sir, with Great Regards, Y'r friend, J. C. Warren.

The next news concerning the Pharmacopœia comes from Dr. Lemuel Kollock (1766–1823), a man with a remarkable career. Descended from the Huguenots he was born in Wrentham, Massachusetts, where his Father was a town official. Lemuel as a child suffered from "Scrofula" in the eyes which left his sight impaired for life. He persevered despite this handicap, and studied medicine with Dr. Carter of Newport, Rhode Island. In Dr. Carter's home he met a Southerner, who induced him to settle in Georgia, where I have found him first, on Cumberland Island and later on in Savannah. Dr. Kollock wrote many medical papers, one on "Scarlatina" being of more than ordinary merit.

"Savannah, 9 June, 1818. Dear Sir: I have been so often obliged by your kindnesses, that I feel ashamed that I have been so long a defaulter in acknowledgements, at least. Your favors of the Bills of Mortality for Portsmouth which you were so kind as to forward to me, I have filed in the Collections of the Med. Soc. of this State. We have felt obliged by these communications, and

[1] The idea of Dr. Shattuck and Dr. Warren abandoning the practice of midwifery may have originated from the publication not long before of a paper by Sir Anthony Carlisle of London, "On the Impropriety of Men being Employed in Midwifery." Sir Anthony (1768–1840) was a man whose opinions carried away all opposition.

[2] This paragraph is outlined on the margin of the letter and marked: PRIVATE!

have endeavored to make you a return from our place, but such is the fluctuation of our population, and the hitherto impracticability of securing anything like exactness or regularity of return, that we have not felt ourselves authorized to make an official publication We are endeavoring to institute more method and order to ameliorate our climate by attending to local circumstances which have hitherto, we conceive, been too little regarded, but which have had powerful influence upon the health of our Town. Surrounded as we are by marshy low grounds, much of them cultivated in rice, and in a Latitude of 31° we could not otherwise than be sickly, especially in the Autumnal months. These lands are to be drained and the rice-culture abolished, in the immediate vicinity of the Town. This work is now going on, and when carried into complete effect we feel authorized to expect great diminution of febrile diseases, and an amelioration of climate. The actual situation of the Town upon elevated sandy ground of considerable extent, furnishing pure water is favorable to health and if these sources of miasmatic exhalations are dried, I doubt not but Savannah might vie in salubrity with most of the Atlantic Towns.

With regard to the great national work the New York Society have projected, I think it a highly important and creditable scheme. How far we shall have zeal to materially contribute to the work, I know not, but fear it will be difficult to excite much ardour or industry in a work of this sort, at present. The meeting of our Society when the Circular was laid before them was not a full one, and local matters occupied the attention, principally. The future Resolutions on the subject will be communicated to you. It is difficult, I believe, to keep alive an efficient zeal in medical Associations except in the immediate vicinity of Medical Schools, which furnish continued excitement. We find it the case in this languor inspiring climate: there are but few minds here that do not require the impulse of necessity to excite to much continued exertion. We find but few David Ramsays.

The death of the late Dr. McBride of Charleston[1] has deprived the Southern Section of a powerful auxiliary to such a work. I doubt if he has left one behind him who has amassed so much knowledge of the indigenous products of this country in a medical point of view. His papers, I hope, will furnish much aid.

With much respect, I am, Y'r Obliged and humble Serv't, L. Kollock."

[1] Dr. James McBride (1784–1817) was a very eminent physician who was graduated at Yale in the Class with John Calhoun, and who practiced in Princeville and in Charleston, South Carolina. He was a profound botanical Scholar, wrote much upon that topic, and had attained a very high standing in the profession when he was carried off suddenly by Yellow Fever.

Directly afterwards came more discouraging news from Dr. Jacob De La Motta of Savannah.

"Savannah (Georgia), August 4th, 1818. Dear Sir: It was my intention to have written you, prior to the receipt of your last communication, but deferred it until I could state the result of the deliberation of the Medical Society on the subject of the intended Pharmacopœia. Not having been present when the nature of your letter was considered, I cannot minutely state the particulars. However, from information, I can say the President was directed to address you, and am led to believe that the tenor of his communication will not be satisfactory to your wishes, as the Society considers the undertaking arduous and attended with considerable inconvenience. The apathy and indifference manifested by many of our Medical Men, on subjects involving medical improvement is too well known and I doubt whether this Society will accord with what seems to have been generally approved of by Medical Societies in other Sections of the Union. I shall endeavor to urge a reconsideration of the subject, and shall make every exertion to induce them to forward so laudable an undertaking. Should my efforts fail, I will certainly comply with my promise in giving you my feeble aid in collecting and digesting all the information and improvements that have been suggested to my mind during the time I was engaged in Pharmaceutical pursuits in New York. Should I be tardy in the execution I trust you will readily impute such delay to professional concerns, as the season is about approaching when the time of Physicians is generally completely employed.

Since my location in this part of the Union, my expectations have been realized, and my prospects in business are very promising. I have formed a connection in business with an old and respectable practitioner of this place, who has ever commanded the largest share of practice, and I may truly say, I see everything to render my situation pleasing.

Should you think proper to write me, I will thank you to explain; whether the expenses of the District Delegates as well as the delegates to the National Convention is to be defrayed out of the sum for which the copyright will sell? In this State there is but one Medical Society. In forming a District Convention, is Georgia to inform the other Societies in the Southern Division, of their willingness to co-operate with them, and in what place they will hold their Meeting? This requires explanation, as the Circular does not express in what manner, information shall be given in order to effect a District Meeting. It appears to my mind, that a Pharmacopœia could readily be compiled by a few individuals in this City, but the difficulty would arise in giving information to the neighboring Societies within the precincts of this Division. The trouble of

making communications to the several Societies within the Southern Jurisdiction would be greater than to form a Pharmacopœia locally. As the period is somewhat distant which shall complete the undertaking, you will have ample time to make such suggestions as may further your wishes.

Our City is very healthy, as yet, but I attribute this blessing to the scarcity of rain. We have had an uncommon dry season; consequently, vegetable decomposition and the formation of miasma is retarded; the too frequent agents in producing our Fever.

Allow me the pleasure of considering myself, With Respect, Your Friend, JACOB DE LA MOTTA.[1]"

In sending out his circulars Dr. Spalding had not forgotten his Portsmouth friends and now Dr. Langdon writes as follows:

"Portsmouth, Sept. 11, 1818. Dear Sir: The circulars you sent by my Father in the Spring, with regard to a National Pharmacopœia, according to your request I distributed. The Medical Society at their last meeting appointed a Committee, and did something more upon the subject.[2] Dr. Pierrepont tells me that he shall write you, shortly, an account of their proceedings.

The package, also, by Mr. Parry enclosing Bills of Mortality I have received safe, and as you requested have waited upon the physicians who practiced here in those years. Dr. Cutter says he possesses no means of information, neither did his son William leave any data from which information can be taken. Dr. Pierrepont has never kept any account, and therefore is unable to make any corrections. Dr. Dwight undertook to make some. You will see by the Bills, how he succeeded. I expected he would have been able to do more.

The letter to the Selectmen I have also handed to Mr. Langdon their Chairman to be laid before the Board. The Bills of Mortality you will receive herewith enclosed.

[1] Dr. De La Motta (1788–1845) was born in Savannah and during his medical studies met Dr. Spalding first in Philadelphia and later in New York where he gave much attention to Materia Medica. He served as a Ship's Surgeon during the War of 1812, and then practiced in his native place becoming a member of the State Medical and Historical Societies. His pamphlet "On Spirea" is worth recalling, as well as the fact that as a reward of his botanical and Medical writings he was chosen an Honorary Member of the French Academy of Science.

[2] The records of the New Hampshire Medical Society show that a committee of three, Dr. Matthias Spalding, Dr. David L. Morrill and Dr. Daniel Adams was appointed to communicate with Dr. Lyman Spalding and give him all possible assistance.

The state of enterprise in medical science here is such as it was when you were with us, and still needs Spirit, and Enterprise like yours to make its existence appear. Our State will not probably be able to furnish much matter towards the great work you have undertaken. Still that you may well and fully succeed in so great and so useful an undertaking is my earnest wish. Yours with Much Esteem, W. Eustis Langdon."

Dr. Pierrepont also mentions the Pharmacopœia and gives us Family news.

"Portsmouth, Sept. 16, 1818. Dear Sir: You kindly offer to electioneer for me, so that I should be one of the grand Med'l Convention, for which I feel obliged to you. In contemplating on this favorite subject and in organizing its various stages, it occurred to you to compliment your old acquaintance. But, on cool reflection you must without doubt have seen how inappropriate to my taste would be a mission like that. I should be delighted to visit you, and N. Y., but it must be in the indolent character of a private friend. But for a Mission! The only one that would please me must lead me to the solitudes of a dark and noiseless wilderness: to the centre of a desert whose extent should be that of one quarter of the World. Respecting this National work contemplated, I wish you all success that its nature is susceptible of. I hope you will effect its establishment, and be delighted with the share of reputation resulting from its accomplishment.

I did not attend the meeting of the N. H. M. S., but have within a few days been informed that arrangement is made to meet the first stage of this subject.

In this section of the country everything goes on with a specific torpor and in particular, medical science. It is probable, our contributions cannot be extensive or very conspicuous. Here, is a large and dense cloud (perhaps filled with fiery storms) but we want some one to rouse, agitate and make them coruscate.

But, to quit this subject. Your Father Coues has an enlargement of the Parotid Gland: at times, considerably painful, not however having that peculiar hardness of the common schirri. There is a degree of elastic feeling as if a fluid was contained in a thick sac of a texture like a tendon. He at present has it covered with a plaster of the Cicuta, taking an alterative. If I had your apparatus, I should propose to occasionally electrify it. Would not that change its constitution and irritability? If agreeable to you to write, stating your selected treatment, I will with fidelity execute it.[1]

[1] Whether Captain Coues died from this apparent Cancer I do not know.

Will you have the goodness to trouble yourself in my behalf so much as to see if I can be supplied with Crevier's "History of the Emperors" (10 Vols.),[1] Wakefield's "Lucretius de Natura Rerum" (4 Vols.),[2] Mitford's "History of Greece," Young's "Works," or Johnson's edition of Pope's Works (not his Homer). Please write me as soon as convenient, and I will remit to you on them, and should any of these volumes be obtained, will you furthermore trouble yourself to see them forwarded by safe conveyance. With Respect and Esteem, J. H. PIERREPONT."[3]

Amongst the physicians whom Dr. Spalding planned to interest in the Pharmacopœia was Dr. Nathaniel Potter of Baltimore (1770–1843), Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Maryland for thirty-six years. He studied medicine with Dr. Rush, obtained his degree at Philadelphia in 1796, his graduating thesis having for subject "The Medicinal and Deleterious Effects of Arsenic." He experimented personally with yellow fever excretions to prove that this disease was not contagious; wrote copiously on medical topics, and edited books "On Fevers" and "Practice." He also established "The Baltimore Medical Lycæum" and "The Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal."

Here we have Dr. Potter's reply to the Circular:

"Baltimore, Nov. 28, 1818. Dear Sir: I am sure you will pardon me for an apparent neglect for not having sooner replied to your polite favor, when I assure you that a sick family had suspended all my correspondence from the last of September till this day. Accept of my thanks for the specimen of your contemplated work "On Fever." Although the subject is too momentous and interesting for me to pronounce on it at first view, I will embrace an early opportunity of offering the candid expression of my sentiments. The question as to Nosology is drawing to a close. To be or not to be, is now the question. In my Course on the Theory and Practice of Medicine I disregard all nosological arrangements, unless it is to criticize such artificial, unnatural combinations. Whether it be possible to establish a perfect Nosology is the question

[1] Jean Louis Crevier (1693–1765) was Professor of Rhetoric at Beauvais, and wrote, amongst many others, this "History," once famous, but now dusty on library shelves.

[2] Gilbert Wakefield (1756–1801) was a wonderful Latinist, and tremendously industrious with ancient writers. His "Lucretius" was an immense piece of erudition.

[3] The list of books shows Dr. Pierrepont's reading. Over the names mentioned are written these figures. "C. $20, "L. $22, "M. $30.

first to be settled. *Me judice*, such a work or rather such a Vision can exist only in the distorted imagination of the remnant of the old Methodic Sect. Can a man be a correct pathologist who believes that he can class diseases with the same certainty and facility that governs the naturalist in arranging animals and vegetables? This would be to make every man's body the same, which is physically impossible. We need not multiply arguments on this subject. I am informed a learned Prof. in your city is about to issue from the press "A New Nosology." He must have little to do to undertake at this day to revive the obsolete project of teaching physick by names. I can assure him, that unless it contain something more luminous than anything that has yet emanated from the same source, he will find it roughly handled in Baltimore!

Our University has chosen no delegates to the Convention to be convened at Philadelphia in June, next. The Faculty of the School thought it prudent to leave the election to the State Faculty, with a view of commanding all the talents out of which a better selection might be made, as well as to conciliate the good will of that numerous body toward the University. Accordingly, in June last, the Faculty of Maryland balloted for five deputies, and Dr. Martin,[1] Dr. De Butts,[2] Dr. Baker,[3] Dr. Wilkins [4] and your humble

[1] Samuel Blair Martin (1785–1875) served in the War of 1812 as an Army Surgeon, and then as Ship's Surgeon to the East Indies and back, before settling in Baltimore, about 1819. He made his name known by his activity during an epidemic of Yellow Fever in that City and was rewarded for his courage with the appointment of Public Health Office, a position which he held for years.

[2] Elisha De Butts (1773–1831), Professor of Chemistry in the University of Maryland, was an eloquent Irishman who came to Baltimore in childhood, and was graduated at Philadelphia in 1805, presenting a Thesis "On the Eye and Vision." He practiced in Alexandria and then in Washington, and was a clever conversationalist. His papers "On Thermometer," and on "A New Volta Pile" added to chemical knowledge. He was of great assistance in the foundation of the Pharmacopœia, and in correcting the Final Proofs he was of special aid to the originator.

[3] Samuel Baker (1785–1835) practiced in Baltimore and received many honorable elections to offices from his brothers in medicine. He early became interested in nervous diseases, wrote a graduating thesis at Philadelphia, in 1806, on "St. Vitus Dance," and specialized, as it were, in such affections during his entire career. For twenty-four years he lectured on Materia Medica at the Medical School of the University of Maryland, and was another valuable assistant in completing the Pharmacopœia.

[4] Dr. Henry Wilkins was a man of considerable reputation in Medical Maryland. The date of his birth and death are uncertain, but he obtained his medical degree at Philadelphia in 1793, served in the War of 1812 and lectured on Materia Medica and Chemistry in the Medical

servant were elected. We cordially approve of your plan and duly estimate the honour of the appointment, and will co-operate as far as our talents and industry will authorize us. Any further information on the subject will be gratefully received by me, and will be communicated to my colleagues.

Your question respecting the Weights used by the apothecaries of our city resolves itself into this. In Compounding medicine, they all use twelve ounces to the pound and in selling they give sixteen. This is the uniform custom in this place, and perhaps throughout the Union; at least as far as my knowledge permits me to speak.

Should the Nosology alluded to be printed, I will esteem it a favour if you will furnish me with a copy. The price of it will immediately be remitted and the favor reciprocated by me in any way I can serve you, here. Let me hear from you, and Believe me, Yours With Great Respect, NATH'L POTTER."

I find about this date, and will here insert, a copy of a letter from Dr. Spalding to Dr. Hewson of Philadelphia, in which mention is made of the Pharmacopœia and of another idea of Dr. Spalding's, a system of Medical Police, something like our Boards of Health, or Medical Ethics.

"To Dr. T. T. Hewson, Philadelphia. New York, October 10, 1818. Dear Sir: In March last I had the honour of forwarding to you the Circular on the American Pharmacopœia. In consequence of a correspondence which has since been carried on between Doctors Mitchill and Cutbush,[1] we are led to believe that the College of Physicians of Philadelphia will approve of the formation of a National Pharmacopœia.

I would also beg leave to suggest to you the propriety of bringing before the Congress of Physicians, the subject of Medical Police. If it should appear to that learned body over which you preside,

School of Maryland. He wrote various essays and complied "The Family Adviser, or a Plain Modern Practice of Physick for Families," a book of some 200 pp.

[1] Dr. Edward Cutbush (1772–1843) was a Surgeon's Mate in the Navy and served on the U. S. Frigate "United States" at the bombardment of Tripoli in 1804. He had in 1818 attained the position of Senior Surgeon in the Navy, but soon resigned because he was ordered to a vessel unsuitable to his rank.

He then served as Professor of Chemistry at the Geneva, New York, Medical School. He wrote "Observations on the Means of Preserving the Health of Sailors and Soldiers," after the style of a more celebrated book of the same kind by Dr. Usher Parsons. Dr. Cutbush seems to have been rather irascible, and his attitude toward the Pharmacopœia was very odd, as shall later on be seen.

that a system of National Police would be desirable, and if they will pass a resolution to that effect, we will introduce that Resolution into the Circular, which will appear in a few weeks, announcing the approbation by a majority of the Medical Schools and Societies of the formation of the American Pharmacopœia.

Will you also have the goodness, My Dear Sir, to convey to me at as early an hour as convenient, your own opinion of the formation of the Pharmacopœia, and the property of attempting the establishment of a General Medical Police. Be pleased also to accept the enclosures. I have the honor to be Yours, L. SPALDING."

The only news from North Carolina concerning the Pharmacopœia is from a Dr. Robinson of Camden of whom I know nothing personally, but whose note I insert as part of Medical History.

"Camden, 24 Oct. 1818. Dear Sir: I received your circular of the 4th of March relative to the formation of a National Pharmacopœia. The Object, I highly approve of, but from the scattered situation of medical men in this State, I fear we shall be of very little service, although the State perhaps contains as many medicinal plants as any other. For my own part I shall be happy to render you any service which may be in my power, individually, to promote so laudable an Object.

Your Obedient and very Humble Servant. SAMUEL ROBINSON."

Dr. Thacher's encouraging letter, showed progress in Massachusetts, and his suggestion for a meeting at Hartford, was followed.

"Plymouth, Oct. 25, 1818. Dear Sir: I have been duly favored with your letter and pamphlet "On Fever." I cannot but feel it an honor, that a subject of such importance after having undergone your investigations should be referred to my examination and opinion. It will be my pride and my gratification to comply with your request as soon as leisure will permit. From a cursory perusal, I can only say at present, that I view it as a specimen of ingenuity and brilliant imagination.

I feel much interested in the success of your project for a National Pharmacopœia and will esteem it as a favor if you will inform me, what returns you have received from the several States or Districts.

The Chairman of our Committee has communicated with your Committee, but we have done nothing more, since. It is my individual opinion, that we ought to send, two, if not three delegates to meet in convention, perhaps at Hartford, some time next summer. Will you be good enough to inform me, whether this will meet the wishes and expectations of your Committee? I am with great respect your Ob'd't Servant, JAMES THACHER.

Amongst the Circulars sent to Europe one was directed to Anthony Todd Thomson who wrote the following valuable acknowledgement:

91 Sloane St., London, 24 November, 1818. Sir: I received your letter with the documents of the Medical Society of the County of New York, respecting the formation of the American National Pharmacopœia, and feel happy in being able to send you the second Edition of "The London Dispensatory," which has just been published.

I have endeavored to improve the Work so as to keep pace with the improvements of Chemistry and Pharmacy, which have taken place since the first Edition appeared, and the addition of the Synonyms will, I trust, render it generally more useful.

As I am now engaged in writing "A History of Materia Medica," I am extremely anxious to obtain a knowledge of the indigenous substances which have been employed for medicinal purposes in the American State, and I will feel truly obliged with any assistance you can favor me with. Is it possible to obtain a good Hortus Siccus of American Medicinal Plants, without an enormous expense? If such a collection can be readily procured might I take the liberty of troubling you with such a commission? I could pay the price for it to the correspondents of any of your mercantile Houses, in Liverpool or London. Anything I can do for you, in return, you may freely command.

Wishing your undertaking all the success you can desire, I remain Sir, Your Obedient Servant, ANTHONY TODD THOMSON.[1]"

Another Circular from Dr. Spalding reached Dr. Richard Reece [2] of London, and in December, 1818, arrived a flatter-

[1] Anthony Todd Thomson (1778–1849) was born in Edinburgh, although his Father was Royal Collector at Savannah, Georgia, but who had brought his family home during the Revolution. The boy went at an early age to Savannah, and returned once more to Edinburgh where he received his diploma. He won a wide practice in London, founded Medical Societies, established the Chelsea Dispensary, and edited various Medical Journals. Whilst occupying the Chair of Materia Medica at University College, he wrote "A Conspectus for a Pharmacopœia," and "The London Dispensatory." He gradually abandoned general practice, specialized in Dermatology and amused himself with Magic.

[2] Richard Reece (1775–1831) was a surgeon at the Hereford Infirmary at the age of 21, and after practicing there a while, he moved to Cardiff, and from there to London, where he became famous, not only for his "Journal" and for his advocacy of "Lobeila and Buchu in Medical Practice," but for his Consultations in the Case of Joanna Southcote, who at the age of 65 declared herself to be with child by the Holy Ghost. He also assisted, later on, at the necropsy of Joanna, which proved beyond doubt the falsity of her Claims, which had startled the world.

ing communication from this distinguished man: a copy of his "Medical Magazine," with an Editorial in which he spoke of Dr. Spalding's project of a National Pharmacopœia as "A Splendid Instance of Medical Foresight," and urged British physicians to petition Parliament for a similar work for Great Britian.

Dr. David Hale was an early graduate at Fairfield, who in course of time received some Circulars. From the two long letters in which he acknowledges the compliment, I take a few items of value.

"Vincennes, Indiana, January 16, 1819. Dear Doctor. I received your Circular and have to reply that our Society feels very friendly toward the success of the Work. They had a meeting in November and I at once enclosed you the Proceedings and a Newspaper, but from your letter I find that you have not received them. I now send another paper by a friend whom I commission to buy medicine for a shop in which I am now concerned. I wish also to trouble you about a Soda Water Machine, and I wish you to assist in the purchase of the machine and to see that no imposition is practiced in any part of the Bill, either for drugs or for the Machine. I will also thank you for a description of the use of the machine, and of the ingredients for making Soda Water. I am under a serious impression that I shall make money here if I have health. Though quite poor when I was under your tuition, I now consider my property worth 5 to 7 Thousand and growing fast. Your Obedient Servant & Well Wisher, DAVID HALE."

Dr. Matthias Spalding, a member of the New Hampshire Delegation, was much interested in the Pharmacopœia, as his communication shows.

"Amherst, New Hampshire, February 24, 1819. Dear Sir: I have received several letters and Circulars on the subject of the National Pharmacopœia, and we have had several meetings by way of the Society and Committee on the Subject, but we have not made much progress in the Business, though we are disposed so to do. I felt very sorry you did not see the Hon. D. L. Morrill[1] when on his way to Washington.

[1] Dr. David Lawrence Morrill (1772–1849) practiced medicine at Epsom, New Hampshire, abandoned medicine for Theology, and then gave up Theology for Politics. He was twice elected to Congress, served a term in the United States Senate and was four times Governor of New Hampshire. He wrote a great deal on religious and political matters, but gave the project for the founding of the Pharmacopœia no assistance whatsoever.

Hope you will see him on his way home, and that he and you, or your Committee will make suitable arrangements with him for carrying on the business. He, of course, will be at Washington next winter. He is one of our State Committee on the Pharmacopœia. He is a man of Science as well as one of our own profession: in fact, he is every way calculated for the business and Will, I trust, do all he can to forward such a work.

Be pleased to accept my best wishes for your personal and public welfare in undertaking so laudable a work. I am, Dear Sir, with Much Esteem, your friend and Servant, MATTHIAS SPALDING."

A very friendly and encouraging message from Dr. Mitchill arrived at this time very opportunely. Dr. Mitchill was then at Albany to attend a meeting of the Regents.

"Albany, April 4, 1819. Sunday. Dear Sir: It is now almost night, and I have just learned that the Steam Boat has arrived from New York. It is understood that she will leave this place on Tuesday. The roads are so dreadfully bad, that I shall not travel home by land, but wait for the departure of this vessel.

I inform you, as Trustee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, notified to act, that I received the Diplomas for the graduates, yesterday, from the Chancellor of the University, with his signature. They will be ready for delivery at the moment of my arrival on Wednesday. I wish the Registrar, or some body might be ready to receive them from me, the instant I arrive.

The Secretary of the State Medical Society, has certified and subscribed the Commission for the Delegates to the Medical Convention at Philadelphia.[1] I shall bring it with me.

I have procured in advance, a Copy of the "Catalogue of Plants growing in the Vicinity of New York," by the Lyceum of Natural History, and chiefly by John Torrey, M.D.[2] The printing is doing by Websters and Skinners. I find it, on examination, an admirable piece of work, highly creditable to our younger brethren who engaged in it. If the Lyceum had done nothing but this, it would have established a noble and durable monument of its usefulness.

I request you on the receipt of this to call on Mrs. Mitchill and

[1] "The Medical Convention at Philadelphia" was the one planned for the composition of the Pharmacopœia by the Middle States, in June.

[2] Dr. John Torrey, (1796–1873) only twenty-three at this time, had studied medicine with Dr. Wright Post, but turning his attention to Botany he became famous in this specialty, and was later on in turn Professor of Chemistry at West Point and at Columbia. The pamphlet here mentioned, is now exceedingly rare and valued at a high price, by bibliophiles.

inform (her) that her husband and Brother [1] are lodged in the same chamber at Moody's Hotel, are in good health, and anxious to embark for wives and homes. Make my compliments to Mrs. Spalding, and be assured of my esteem and regard. SAM'L L. MITCHILL."

About this time too, Sir Robert Perceval wrote to Dr. Spalding an exceedingly valuable and explicit letter of suggestions concerning the Pharmacopœia. In point of fact it is the best one of this collection of letters bearing upon the national work in which Dr. Spalding was so deeply interested. Furthermore it is beautifully written, and easy to decipher.

"Kildare Place, Dublin, May 4, 1819. Dear Sir: America has long had a claim on my gratitude. Many years ago, Mr. Vaughan [2] obtained for me the honour of being elected a Member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and I have anxiously watched an opportunity of returning my acknowledgements. The object which you propose in your letter, which I am almost ashamed to say is dated so far back as March, 1818, is such as I could heartily wish were adopted in the several countries which compose the United Kingdom. Dissonance in Nomenclature and in the preparation of the more active medicines which are employed in our practice is attended with inextricable confusion. I should hope, that some uniformity might at length prevail amongst practitioners who speak the same language and acknowledge the same original stock. My delay in acknowledging your favor subjoined to the

[1] Mrs. Mitchill's Brother was Dr. Samuel Akerly (1785–1845), she being by birth an Akerly, then marrying a Mr. Cock, and after a widowhood of some years she married Dr. Mitchill. Dr. Akerly was an Army Surgeon in the War of 1812, and after practising in New York, interested himself in the care of the insane and the education of the Deaf Mutes. Amongst his numerous papers, one on "Deafness" still reads well.

[2] Dr. Benjamin Vaughan (1751–1835) was born in Jamaica, and took the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh, to please his prospective Father-in-Law, who insisted on a "Man with a Profession," for his Son-in-Law. Dr. Vaughan, instead of practising, went into politics, took an active part with Franklin in his negotiations with the French during our American Revolution, and although a Member of Parliament, he engaged, apparently, in High Treason by introducing French Revolutionists into Great Britian. Obliged to flee to Switzerland, he came to America and finally settled in Hallowell, Maine, where he posed as a philosopher, wrote on politics and medicine, and practiced a little. Some of his books well annotated may still be found in the Library of the Maine Insane Asylum at Augusta. In his old age he gave much study to the "Letters of Junius," and their authorship.

Circular, arose partly from the state of my health, but principally from a desire of rendering my answer more satisfactory.

The Dublin College of Physicians have published but one Edition of their Pharmacopœia, but have appointed a Committee, of whom I am one, to revise it, and publish a second edition. I was in hopes I should have been able to have reported progress, but have been disappointed in this hope by the prevalence of the Epidemic fever, which has for upward of a year affiicted our Capital.

Dr. Barker,[1] who is my successor in the Chemical Professorship, which I resigned several years ago, finding it incompatible with my medical engagements, has lately been absent from Dublin on a mission from the Government to inspect the State of Health in the province of Munster, and I fear, such duties as these will, for some time interfere with the prosecution of our Pharmaceutical labours. The Disorder, although by no means fatal, has spread alarmingly through the lower ranks.

Have you seen the Pharmacopœia published last year in Paris; the result of many years of study of a number of celebrated men in that City who were commissioned and liberally paid by the Government? The work is voluminous, contains about 600 pp., and seems better adapted for the library than the shop. It includes many details of Natural History, Pharmacy and Chemistry. In its formulæ we meet many of the old compound medicines which modern practice in these countries has long since exploded. The proportion of ingredients is determined decimally, which appears an improvement, as much confusion arises from the varied weights and measures in different countries. The chemical part is copious, and contains practical directions so minute as only to be adopted to novices of the art. The ointments and plasters appear to be compounded with great care and to contain many active ingredients. With us, perhaps, simplicity has been carried too far."

Sir Robert here goes on at great length with a list of plants, suitable for the American Pharmacopœia, which I omit for lack of space. He then resumes:

"I have now to acknowledge the receipt of your Second Circular, and am happy to find that your scheme is in advance. From the abatement of the Fever, and the approach of Summer which will give us all more leisure, I hope to be able to report some progress on our work.

I have looked over a book printed in Paris in 1818, the title of which is "Formulaire Magistral": it contains a great variety of

[1] Dr. Francis Barker (1793–1859), Sir Robert's successor in the Chemical Chair in Dublin, was very intimate with Sir Walter Scott, whilst a student at Edinburgh, and from that acquaintance obtained promotion in medicine.

formulæ or prescriptions of various eminent physicians in Europe. If you mean to render copious, the article of Formulæ, this book might supply some suggestions. Our plan, is to confine ourselves either to simple preparations or to such compound medicines as have been sanctioned by long use, introducing such corrections in their preparation as to tend to simplify, without impairing their virtue. This might appear the best plan for a Pharmacopœia which is to be the rule of general Practice and which is to furnish the shop of the Apothecary, whose shelves and drawers if they contain all the articles brought forward in the French Codex must be overburthened with an enormous multiplicity of medicines, the greater part of which will be spoiled before called for. For these, of course, the public must pay, and if a French Apothecary be remunerated according to the trouble and expense which the "Codex" imposes upon him, his claim to an enormous charge will be founded in justice.

You will find in the Preface to the "Formulaire Magistral," as good a plea as can well be made for compounding medicine of a multiplicity of ingredients, or what the authors call "Polypharmacie." I cannot reject the whole of the reasoning, but am clearly of opinion that the exercise of "Polypharmacie" should be left to extemporaneous prescription.

Chincough[1] has as usual, been prevalent this Spring. I have seen and heard of some cases confirming the recommendation of Dr. Marc[2] of the use of belladonna. The effect, however, is so violent, on the Nervous system that I have been discouraged from pushing the experiment. I hope to be able before long to give you an account of our pharmaceutical labours. Should any opportunity occur of transmitting a specimen of your work to this country, our Committee will feel much obliged to you for the communication. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Ob'd't and Faithful Serv't, Rob. Perceval. Physician General for Ireland."

Sir Robert Perceval's valuable suggestions were followed by bad news from the South.

"Writing from Savannah, May 20, 1819. Dr. Kollock begins by introducing a physician whose name I cannot decipher, and adds: "From my invalid condition during the past year, I believed it proper to resign my standing as President in our Medical Society,

[1] Chin Cough (or Kink-Cough) a sort of Whooping Cough.

[2] Dr. Charles Chretien Henri Marc (1771–1841) was a distinguished Physician of Paris, who in his early medical life wrote on the effects of poisons, used as remedies in disease, urged more frequent study of the dead, and suggested many remedies as specifics for stated diseases. In his later life he wrote a great deal on "Insanity" from a medico-legal point of view.

to one who could do more justice to the station. Since which I have had no share in the transactions of the Society.

Sometime since, your letter to me was received by the new President who mentioned to me the object, and that he should lay it before the board at their next meeting. Whether this has been done, I am not informed. But our medical gentlemen seem reluctant to encounter the subject of the Pharmacopœia with the prospect of contributing so little of importance to the stock of matters necessary for such a work, without a devotion of more time and labour than they feel able to spare from their other duties.

We have two Representatives in Congress, members of our Society (Drs. Abbott[1] and Terrell[2]), who perhaps may be selected as our representatives, also. If they accept the appointment they will carry into the work much information. I hope this plan will be pursued. With the best wishes for the success of the undertaking, I am Very Respectfully, L. Kollock."

Nor was a second letter from Dr. Potter any more encouraging.

"Baltimore, May 31, 1819. Dear Sir: It is to me a subject of regret that I cannot, consistent with propriety attend the Philadelphia Convention of which we are members; not that I would presume to offer anything that will not be better done by my colleagues.

We have determined that the Faculty of Maryland will be ably and faithfully represented by two delegates, either of whom can leave home with more convenience, than I could. While I am constrained to forego the pleasure I anticipated of meeting you and some other old friends, as well as of cultivating the acquaintance of others whose reputation demands the tribute of respect, yet my duty to a sick infant daughter admonishes me to renounce the project on which I had so long set my heart. I trust your joint labors will result to the benefit of medical science, and that the American Pharmacopœia will be exhibited as an emblem of the literary sovereignty of the U. States. I propose, ere long, to address you or some other member of the Convention on certain topics connected with the objects of your present mission. This

[1] Joel Abbott, M.D. was born in Connecticut, but was taken in infancy to Georgia, where he became an excellent physician and high-minded politician. He practiced "Somewhere in Georgia," represented the Wilkes County District in Congress, and was a firm believer in the justice of slavery.

[2] William Terrell was in early life a physician, but became a politician and a man highly esteemed. He was greatly devoted to agriculture, and at his death in 1855, left to the University of Georgia a fund for the support of a Chair for the Promotion of Agriculture.

will be the more necessary, as the contemplated Convention at Washington is fixed at a season when my duties to the University would not permit me to attend. My contributions will, however, depend entirely upon the plan adopted, as they will respect principally, the operation of certain articles of the Materia Medica.

My Colleague Dr. De Butts will present you this, and I take leave to make you particularly acquainted with him. You will find him a man of real genius and worth, united to great diffidence and unassuming manners. Dear Sir, Yours Very Truly, NATH'L POTTER."

As it then took ten hours by stage from Baltimore to Washington and even more to Philadelphia, the objections on the part of Dr. Potter in making either journey will be readily understood.

Of the four District Conventions arranged for the year 1819, only two met, one for the Northern States at Boston, one for the Middle States at Philadelphia, and both of them in June. The members composing the Boston Convention were Drs. Mussey, Matthias Spalding, E. Torrey,[1] S. Gridley,[2] James Thacher, Ebenezer Lerned, J. P. Batchelder, S. Drowne,[3] Eli Ives, J. Bigelow and Dr. Shattuck.

[1] Erastus Torrey was graduated at the Dartmouth Medical School in 1805, practiced for a few years at Cornish, New Hampshire and was a Member of the State Medical Society. Later on he moved to Windsor, Vermont, and represented that State in the Convention. He was, on the foundation of the Castleton Medical School, appointed a Lecturer on the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

[2] Selah Gridley (1767–1826) practiced in a small village in Vermont, the name of which has escaped my researches, but there he became so successful as a teacher of medicine that he was obliged to establish a Medical School at Castleton as an outlet for his many applicants for instruction. Here for some time he acted as Professor of Theory and Practice, and also of Materia Medica. In the midst of his successes he had the misfortune to lose a very dear friend whom he invited to witness the removal of an addition to his house, and who very unluckily fell beneath the rollers and was killed. This fatal accident so depressed Dr. Gridley that though daily visiting his new residence, he finally lost all interest in it, never dwelt beneath its roof, fell into a Decline and Melancholy, and removed to Exeter, New Hampshire, where he died.

[3] Solomon Drowne (1753–1834) served as a Surgeon both in the Army and Navy during the Revolution. His "Journal of a Cruise in the Fall of 1780 in the Private Sloop, 'Hope,'" is a rare and valuable pamphlet.

He studied in Europe, had many honorary degrees and practiced in Ohio and Pennsylvania and finally in Foster, Rhode Island, representing that State in the Convention. Having been Lecturer on Botany at Brown, his qualifications for the position were undisputed. Dr.

This Convention met in Boston on the First day of June, took up the discussion of all the important medicines mentioned in the large number of foreign and domestic Pharmacopœias of the day, London, Edinburgh and Dublin. Each topic was gone over alphabetically, each member had his suggestions to offer. The rough draft which was completed at the end of the week was given to Dr. Eli Ives of New Haven and to Dr. Jacob Bigelow of Boston to revise and to hand it personally to the members of the National Convention to be held in Washington in the following January for comparison with the material to be furnished by the other district conventions.

The Convention for the Middle States met on the same day at Philadelphia and the following physicians took part. Drs. Mitchill, Watts, Stevens, Parke,[1] Griffiths,[2] Hewson, Stewart,[3] Parrish, Atlee,[4] MacNeven, Frances,

Drowne wrote papers on Botany, and was greatly interested in Philanthropy, one of the closing acts of his life being to publish "An Address on the Independence of Greece."

[1] Thomas Parke (1749–1835) practiced many years in Philadelphia. Although he had written but little on medical topics, his long dealings with drugs made his presence valuable.

[2] Samuel Powell Griffiths (1759–1826), whilst still a student of medicine, had helped to aid the wounded at the Battle of Germantown, and later on obtained his degree of medicine from the University of Montpellier in France. He practiced more than forty years in Philadelphia, and from his acquaintance with their language was of great service to the French refugees from the Island of Saint Domingo after their exile by the revolutionary negroes. Dr. Griffiths was Professor of Materia Medica at the Pennsylvania Hospital Medical School, and wrote a paper on "Pharmacopœias" which he read by request before the members of this Convention.

[3] Of Dr. Samuel Stewart, I only know that he was famous in Philadelphia as an obstetrician, and the possessor of such long and prehensile hands that he scorned the use of forceps.

[4] Edwin Augustus Atlee (1776–1854) first studied law and served as a volunteer soldier in the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794, which was a rebellion against the prohibition of the distilling of liquors by the people. He gave up law, studied medicine and obtained his degree with a thesis "On the Influence of Music in the Treatment of Diseases." Dr. Atlee took immense pains to translate from the Latin, Lieutaud's * "Synopsis of Medical Practice," retired at an early age from medicine, and devoted the rest of his life to the Anti-Slavery Movement.

* Joseph Lieutaud (1703–1780) was an Instructor in Botany, Physiology and Anatomy in Paris. His "Anatomical Essays" were original, and his "Pathological Anatomy" based on thousands of observations was considered phenomenal.

Smith,[1] Vancleve, Baker, McLane,[2] Huntt,[3] De Butts and Henderson.[4] Dr. Spalding attended as the representative of the Fairfield Medical School, and of the New York County Medical Society.

The Convention thus composed met in Philosophical Hall on the same day as that of the Convention in Boston, and remained in session for five successive days and evenings. In the same way as at Boston the rough draft of a pharmacopœia was composed, and in this instance given over to the care of Dr. Spalding, with instructions to enlarge the information needed concerning plants and indigenous remedies by correspondence throughout the Nation, and to present it to the National Convention to be held in Washington. Dr. Spalding was also authorized to notify the District Delegates to appear at the National Convention. His suggestion for a Medical Police of which mention was made in a former letter to Dr. Hewson was postponed to a later date.

Immediately after the adjournment of this Convention Dr. Spalding returned to New York, and occupied himself during the rest of the year, 1819, with his practice and his work on the Pharmacopœia. Amongst the letters received at this time, I find this one from Dr. De La Motta, who had evidently visited Dr. Spalding at his house.

"Savannah, June 8, 1819. Dear Sir: According to promise I take the pen as early after my arrival as I obtained information, to

[1] Charles Smith (1767–1848) was born and educated at Princeton, New Jersey, and practiced many years in New Brunswick in that State. As one of the leading practitioners in his State he had been chosen as its representative in the convention.

[2] Allan McLane, Jr. (1786–1845), was an Army Surgeon in the War of 1812, wrote voluminously on medicine and was of great service to the Pharmacopœia.

[3] Henry Huntt was born, educated, and obtained his degree in Maryland, served as Hospital Surgeon in the Army, and was the first Health Officer of Washington, D.C. He was a founder of the American Medical Association and amongst many valuable papers wrote on "Observations of Change of Climate in Pulmonary Consumption."

[4] Thomas Henderson (1789–1854) came from an obscure village in Virginia and practiced in Washington, D.C. He was an original incorporator of the District of Columbia Medical Society, served as an Assistant Surgeon in the Army, was Professor of Theory and Practice in the Columbian University and retired from the profession at an early age, and died in Lexington, Kentucky. Devoted to medical investigation, his chief literary work was "An Epitome of the Physiology, General Anatomy and Pathology of Bichat."

address you on the subject of the proceedings of the Georgia Medical Society on a co-operation to form the National Pharmacopœia. The letter which I wrote in your office and addressed to my Co-Partner was laid before the Society, and I am happy to state that during my absence a committee was appointed to meet the Charleston Delegation at Columbia. The Members composing this Committee are two Members of Congress, Dr. Abbott and Terrell, the other a member resident in this City.

Not being present at the Nomination, I, of course, could not expect to have been placed on that Committee. I, however, will not recant from my promise, but will give you all the aid in my power. I shall, therefore, collect what I am able on that Subject, and transmit it to you previous to the Meeting of the General Convention, and should what I collect be deemed worthy of note, I shall be pleased to observe such notice as they may be entitled to.

Our City as respects endemical fever is as yet exempt. The Whooping Cough is very prevalent amongst children, the weather pleasant for the season.

You will confer a particular favor on me by briefly noting on a piece of paper and transmitting to me in a letter, such improvements in medicine and surgery as you are acquainted with that have lately taken place in the United States. I have to deliver the Anniversary Oration before the Medical Society in the early part of January next, and I purpose giving an outline of such improvements as are worthy of observation. I shall not omit making honorable mention of what you send.

I am Very Respectfully, Yours etc., JACOB DE LA MOTTA."

The Southern Convention, or more precisely, the South Carolina-Georgia Convention had a meeting during the Autumn, but accomplished next to nothing owing to lack of a Quorum. The two physicians mentioned were directed informally to attend the Convention to be held at Washington.

Early in December, Dr. Spalding wishing to lose as little time as possible in attending the National Convention inquired of Dr. Morrill, Member of Congress from New Hampshire the best way to reach Washington, and his reply gives us an idea of the slowness of transit in that era.

Washington City, Dec. 15, 1819. Dear Sir: I have this moment received your letter of the 11th Instant, requiring information relative to the shortest possible time necessary to travel from N. Y. to this City, otherwise than in the Mail Stage. You may leave N. Y., at 11 A.M. in "The Olive Branch" and sleep at Trenton that night, and arrive at Philadelphia next day at 10. You may leave Philadelphia at 12 and arrive at Baltimore by 2 or 3 next morning.

You may leave Baltimore in the Mail Stage at 6 A.M. and get into this City by 12 or sooner, or on the 7 o'clock or 9 o'clock stage and arrive here in the afternoon. You may, therefore, arrive in this City in 49 or 50 hours from the time you leave N. Y. Respectfully, Y'r Ob'd't Serv't, DAVID L. MORRILL.

On the margin of this letter Dr. Spalding pencilled "T. 28"; suggesting Tuesday the 28th of December as the day on which he should set out for Washington, and this seems verified by a Bill for board at the "Congress Hotel" in Washington, D.C., George Beal, Proprietor, which shows that Dr. Spalding reached there Thursday the 30th, and remained until Saturday night, January 8th, at a cost of $23.38/100.

The Convention opened on Saturday morning, January 1, 1820, in the Senate Chamber in the north wing of the Capitol, these physicians being present: Ives, Hewson, Huntt, McLane, Spalding and Stevens. The two rough drafts for the National Pharmacopœia received from the two District Conventions were handed in, examined and discussed. The Convention adjourned late at night until Monday, January 3rd, when Drs. Mitchill, Baker, Parks, Terrell and Abbott appeared and remained during the rest of the Convention. By these eleven physicians, therefore, the United States Pharmacopœia was decided upon.

The rest of the week was spent in comparing notes, and revising the abundant material furnished by the delegates. Before adjourning on Saturday afternoon, they chose a Committee of Publication, in the order named: Spalding, Ives, Hewson, De Butts and Bigelow; Dr. Spalding being named as Chairman.

The months ran rapidly onward and a few days before this Committee met in New York, Dr. Spalding received the following very friendly letter from Dr. Mitchill.

"West Point, June 3, 1820. Dear Sir: My occupation here as one of the Visitors on the appointment of the War Department to the U. S. Military Academy, will, I foresee, be necessarily prolonged beyond the time prescribed for the meeting of the Publishing Committee appointed by their Convention for compiling a Pharmacopœia for the "Fredonian" People.[1]

[1] "Fredonian People" was a name suggested by Dr. Mitchill for all Americans, and was borrowed from the word "Freedom." It failed, however, to make a success, either as Fredonia, for the Nation, or Fredonian for the people.

It would have been highly gratifying to me, to have been able to see the gentlemen and to have contributed whatever I could, for rendering their visit in N. Y. agreeable. I should also have felt very happy in their society and intercourse. I beg you to make to them this explanation of the reason wherefore I am not with you, and of my regret that business of the Pharmacopœia and of the Academy so unluckily interfere with each other. The matter, nevertheless, is of no moment as an affair of business, inasmuch as I am not a member of the Committee. I am confident, besides, that the great work will go steadily on, as it is in good hands.

My time has been fully occupied since my arrival, in visiting the National School, and in viewing the interesting objects around. The change is great, I assure you, from the smoky, polluted air of the City to the pure atmosphere of the mountains and from paved streets and rows of houses, to natural ground and verdant slopes.

My function as a military man, here, might be considered as very different from that of a medical man in our College, was there not, as the wags remark, something "killing" in both professions.

I wish you would show our distinguished visitors the newly furnished case of minerals, the first that meets the eye in entering the Museum, where the minerals of Elba, glitter in the presence of the minerals from New Spain, received just before I left home, from the School of Mines in Mexico.

I have this moment closed a letter to Mr. Calhoun, on some memorable phenomena and occurrences in this place.

Present my compliments to Mrs. Spalding, and the young ladies,[1] and say to them, that if the fates permitted, I could wish you and they and Mrs. Mitchill and Amantha[2] were all here with me. Truly, Dear Sir, Ever Yours, Sam'l Mitchill."

On a bit of paper, Dr. Mitchill adds:

"Since I wrote the note which I am about to enclose, I have received a visit from the officers and the Chaplain; and Mr. Gimbrede,[3] the ingenious Drawing Master has flattered me with the best picture or likeness of me, that probably ever was made. I am called to dinner, and after snatching a hasty morsel, purpose to visit some of the neighboring tracts near to the ponds and lakes that feed the streams. S. L. M.

[1] "The Young Ladies" were Dr. Spalding's daughters, now 17 and 15 years of age.

[2] Amantha was Dr. Mitchill's Daughter.

[3] Mr. Gimbrede was born in France in 1781, and came to America very young. He was an engraver by trade, and carried on a shop in the Bowery. He had this very year obtained an appointment at West Point, and held it until his death in 1832.

Not long after this Meeting of the Publication Committee, Dr. Spalding had occasion to send proof sheets to Dr. Hewson in Philadelphia, but being very busy he gave the commission to his son, My Father, then ten years old. The result of this long journey was communicated by Dr. Spalding to his wife, then in Portsmouth, as the following copy of a letter shows, and enclosed, was my Father's boyish account of his adventures to which he was very fond of alluding, in his 80th year and beyond, as his "share in the Pharmacopœia."

"New York, August 20, 1820. My Dear Wife: Lyman returned from Philadelphia after nine days absence. He met with no troubles nor difficulties. He calculated to admiration. He spent his last cent at New Brunswick in payment for his supper and lodging. He was delighted with Philadelphia and intends to give you an account of his travels.

If Dr. Thurston will inform you what years of Bills of Mortality he is deficient in, I will send them to him, although I have not many, only 14 complete sets left. I have no copies of those published by Dr. Thurston, except eight, for the year 1818. I should be glad if the Doctor could spare me six, for that year, and 14 for for each other year that he has published.

The rest of this copy is indecipherable, but seems to refer to money matters and the Coues Estate.

Here is my Father's Note.

N. Y., Aug. 20, 1820. Dear Mother: I started from New York for Philadelphia on Tuesday the 8th inst. from the Battery and went to Perth Amboy and New Brunswick by steamer where I took the stage and went to Bordentown where I lodged. The next day I went in the Steam Boat to Philadelphia and arrived at 9 o'clock. I went to Dr. Hewson's whose servant took me to Mrs. Peter Cure's Boarding House. I went to the Hospital, Museum, and Mint, where I saw them make quarters of a dollar. I saw the Shot Tower, and I went to West's Paintings. I left Philadelphia on Tuesday the 15th at 12 o'clock, and came back by the way of Bristol, Trenton, Princetown and New Brunswick. I was very much delighted with the journey. Farewell, My Dear Mother, I ever remain Your Dutiful Son, LYMAN DYER SPALDING.

Give my love to Sister Elizabeth and Brother Edward."

The Publication Committee of the Pharmacopœia met as has been mentioned in New York in June, 1820, and later on at intervals at New Haven and in Hartford and Boston, where the sole charge of the printing at last fell into the

hands of the originator of the work. The final galley proofs, now in my possession, were revised by Dr. De Butts and last of all by Dr. Spalding.

The first edition was printed December 15, 1820, by Wells and Lilly of Boston, and copyrighted in the same city and on the same date by Ewer and Bedlington, Cornhill, Number 51.

It would seem also from the great rarity of the original edition of the Pharmacopœia, that only such copies as were subscribed for were printed at this time: furthermore the call for a second edition inside of two years adds to this surmise and proves the value of the work in spite of its few detractors.

The first "Pharmacopœia of the United States of America" was a book of 274 pages neatly printed on rather porous paper about 10 by 6 inches in size. It opened with a brief Historical Introduction stating Dr. Spalding's original suggestion for the work, the recommendations of the New York County Medical Society, and the formation of four District Medical Conventions to be followed by a National Convention. As previously unknown to me I find that the first Circulars were issued March 4th, 1818, and that Vermont was the first State to favor the plan by a vote of its Medical Society.

This is followed by a Preface, which emphasizes the need of such a work, the difficulties of the task of selecting remedies, and the reasons why English and Latin were both advisable in printing the book. For, if printed in both of those languages, the Latin part could be understood by physicians in many parts of the Country who spoke both French and German and Latin, but had no command of English.

Finally, we reach a list of Materia Medica, printed in two columns on each page, side by side in English and Latin[1] and

[1] This quotation from pages 232–3, left-hand and right-hand respectively, gives an idea of the general appearance of the work.

TINCTURA LAVANDULÆ	TINCTURE OF LAVENDER
Spiritus lavandulæ octantes tres.	Take of Spirit of Lavender three pints.
Spiritus rorismarini octantem unum.	Spirit of Rosemary, one pint.
Cinnamomi contusi unciam unam.	Cinnamon bruised, one ounce.

the last 200 pages of the book are printed alternately in English and Latin with directions for utilizing all of the materials mentioned in the foregoing lists.

The copy which I own seems to have been issued with uncut edges, but in the next edition the edges were trimmed.

The final letters of this Collection that has survived a Century of wear and tear show that the Surgeon at the head of the War Department recommended and purchased a large number of copies of the Pharmacopœia, believing it of value to Army Surgeons, whilst the Senior Surgeon of the Navy considered it of no value, and useless at any price.

Dr. Joseph Lovell (1788–1835), at this time Surgeon General of the Army, was graduated academically and medically at Harvard, obtained his appointment in the Army in the War of 1812, was advanced for his meritorious services in the following campaigns, and promoted rapidly to be the Surgeon General. His appointment to this high position met with the approbation, congratulations and appreciation of the entire Medical Profession as well as of the Medical Staff of the Army. Dr. Lovell in his new position introduced many sadly needed reforms and was, personally, a man of rare and lovely character. He approved of the Pharmacopœia, recommended it highly to the Department, and in June, 1821, wrote in this laconic fashion to Dr. Spalding to pay for the copies shipped on the Sloop "Rapid" from Boston to Dr. Spalding, and by him forwarded to Dr. Lovell.

"Surgeon General's Office, June 20, 1821. Sir: I have this day received seventy copies of the American Pharmacopœia shipped from New York (by Messrs. T. and J. Swords) on the 18th Ult'o. The Treasurer of the United States will forward you the amount of the Bill, $158.50/100. Respectively Your Ob'd't Serv't, Jos. Lovell. Surg'n Gen'l. U. S. A. To Lyman Spalding, M.D."

Caryophylli contusi drachmas duas.	Cloves bruised, two drachms.
Myristicæ contusæ unciam dimidiam.	Nutmeg bruised, half an ounce.
Santalini rasi drachmas tres.	Red sanders in shavings, three drachms.
Digere per dies decem, et per chartam cola.	Digest for ten days, and filter.

On the other side of a Bill of Lading by the "Rapid," Captain Bears, is this Historical Bill concerning the Pharmacopœia:

Boston, May 8, 1821. Doct'r L. Spalding, Bot of Cha's Ewer.

70 American Pharmacopœias at $2.25		$157.50	
Discount 25 per cent Cash		39.37 1/2	
		$118.12 1/2	
Directed to Doct'r J. Lovell. Surgeon General of the U. S. Army, Washington.			
54 American Pharmacopœias	$101.25		
41 American Pharmacopœias Bds $2	82.00		
1 American Pharmacopœia Interleaved	2.75		
	$186.00		
Discount	46.50		
	$139.50	$139.50	
		$257.62 1/2	
Boxes		1.05 1/2	$258.68/100

Below is written: "By Schooner 'Eliza' to Dr. Spalding, One copy Interleaved and one in Boards."

On the other hand, Hon. Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy,[1] regretfully wrote these words to Dr. Mitchill as President of the National Convention.

"Navy Department, June 27, 1821. Sir: In reply to your letter of the 19th of May, I have the honor to inform you, that the Pharmacopœia compiled by the Medical Convention has been received and the work submitted to Doctor Edward Cutbush, Senior Surgeon of the Navy, for his opinion and Report upon the utility of it for the Naval Service. I herewith enclose you a Copy of his reply, and must defer for the present, subscribing to any fixed number of the Pharmacopœia, not intending this, however, as a definite refusal of the work. I am Very Respectfully, Sir, Your Obed't Serv't, SMITH THOMPSON.

[1] Hon. Smith Thompson (1766–1843), also a friend of Dr. Spalding, was a graduate from Princeton who studied law and went into New York Politics, being in succession, Mayor of the City, Justice and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, Secretary of the Navy and finally a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was very religious and deeply interested in the American Bible Society.

Here follows now the curious Report of Dr. Cutbush.

"Sir: Agreeably to your order of the 12th Inst., I have examined the copy of the American Pharmacopœia which was referred to me. I regret that I cannot give it my unqualified approbation of the work for the use of our Naval Surgeons. It contains many prescriptions which every physician ought to be capable of forming according to the age of his patient, and the effect he wishes to produce.

I consider the Articles composing the Materia Medica as the tools or implements of the physician, which he is to use according to the extent of his knowledge of their virtues, guided by his medical education and experience, that no article entering into the *formation* of the prescriptions shall *decompose*, or be *decomposed* by another, and consequently rendered inert, or be *inactive*, as *one* of the *component* parts. With this impression, I have no hesitation in declaring that many of the formulæ are injudicious and others *deficient* in the important articles which rendered them useful, and will be so considered by many of our profession, in short, Sir, I fear the work will not bear a critical examination. I think that a treatise comprising the Elements of Materia Medica, and Pharmaceutical Chemistry would be more useful to the *Naval Medical* assistants, than that which I have examined, and that it would be well for the present to suspend any *order* on the subject of introducing it into "*General Use*," in the Medical Department of the Navy of the United States: leaving it optional with the Surgeon to indent for *this* or any *other* American Pharmacopœia or Dispensatory that he may select. Such an *order* would probably be considered as a sanction of the work in a National Point of View. I have the honor to remain, etc., E. CUTBUSH, Surgeon, Washington, June 22, 1821.

With this solitary exception, the Pharmacopœia was well received everywhere. Even Massachusetts physicians, in duty bound to uphold the value of their own State Pharmacopœia were glad to testify to the merits of the new work as it stood, and to its promise for the future.

Dr. Warren said in The New England Medical Journal: "The foundation has been well laid, and the improvements sure to appear in the decade appointed for the second edition will increase its practical value. It is remarkable, that in so short a time, and with so small a band of men so much has been accomplished, despite the obstacles of travel and of correspondence by mail."

"The Repository" printed a twelve-paged review, partly from the original Introduction as written by Dr. Spalding,

and partly, from the pen of Dr. Mitchill or Dr. Pascalis. In general terms it runs to this effect:

This work forms an era in the history of the Profession. It is the first one ever compiled by the authority of the profession throughout a nation. Collections of this sort have been made in other countries, but none, so far, under the impressive sanction which distinguishes this. Many of the Authorities of the Past compiled similar works, later still, the Colleges of Great Britian have followed their example, France by command of her Monarch has furnished her "Codex," but it has remained for American Physicians to frame a work which emanates from the profession itself, and is founded on the principles of Representation. It embodies a Codex Medicum of the free and independent United States.

The originator had before him European models, but he and his fellow-physicians chose to render their work plain and simple and they have succeeded.

Although it may meet with opposition from authors and sellers of books already before the public, and apothecaries accustomed to prepare their medicines according to the directions in books of that sort, yet, it is to be hoped that they will understand, that the new work comes forth only as a guide, and rule for Simple, and Officinal Compounds, and for that reason we trust that it will be cordially received by the Profession, at all events, and generally by all who may be interested.

In his annual address before the next stated meeting of the New York State Medical Society following the publication of the Pharmacopœia, Dr. Stearns, the President, said: "The time is not remote when the opinion of American Physicians will be referred to as of the highest authority. The late efforts to form a National Pharmacopœia is an illustration of my position: an effort never before equalled, and the magnitude of which intimidated many of its most ardent friends, but which was urgently required. The delegates did their work well, and made a judicious and satisfactory selection from the material offered. It is, with no ordinary satisfaction, therefore, that I announce, officially the completion of a work which constitutes an Era in our National Medical History. The benefit will extend to every physician and ultimately to every patient in the United States. We

search the annals of the Medical World, in vain, for such a precedent."

Without going into minute details of dollars and cents spent by Dr. Spalding in completing his labors upon the Pharmacopœia, every one of which is accounted for by the papers now before me and all in his handwriting, a few items of the cost may be pardoned at the end of this book written to illustrate the career of its Originator.

The copyright sold for $1600, and the expenses were $1380.63/100 leaving a balance of $219.37/100 which was turned over to the County Medical Society of New York. The chief sums paid to New England Physicians were $150 to Dr. Eli Ives for expenses in attending two Conventions, and meetings of the Publication Committee; $65 to Dr. Jacob Bigelow, including costs of copying useful material from the Massachusetts Pharmacopœia as a basis for the National work. Dr. Stevens received $125 and Dr. Mitchill, $115. The other physicians attending a Convention either at Boston or Philadelphia were paid from $25 to $50 for their expenses, and were paid additionally by grants of money from their respective State Medical Societies.

Mention should also be made of the payment of $50, to some person so far unknown, for translating the new Pharmacopœia into fluent Latin. Dr. Spalding took for himself in full, including attendance at Philadelphia, Washington and the various Publication Committee Meetings the sum of $250, to which he added $13 for the expenses of his son, Lyman Dyer, to Philadelphia and return. From these figures then it will be seen that all of the physicians made very moderate charges, and that the Pharmacopœia as a whole at a charge by Dr. Spalding of $263 was a very excellent gift on the part of its originator, to the physicians of the United States.

The Interleaved copy mentioned on a former page was sent with the appended note to Dr. Spalding's life-long friend, Dr. John Collins Warren.

"Undated. Dear Sir: The Gentlemen concerned in the formation of the American Pharmacopœia beg you to accpt this copy of their work. The intention of interleaving it, is, that you should make corrections and observations and communicate them in due season to some of the Delegates chosen to revise it, in 1830. Your Friend, L. SPALDING."

The publication of the Pharmacopœia was the culminating point in the career of Dr. Spalding, for about the time that the book was issued from the press he was walking along Pearl Street, New York, when he was hit on the head by a box of rubbish falling from a second story window. The force of the blow was broken somewhat by his hat and wig, but from its effects he never recovered. By February of 1821, he was alarmingly ill, but he improved slightly. Relapses followed and in May he went into the country to rest in the house of his friend, Dr. John Polhemus of Clarkstown, Rockland County, New York, a devoted pupil and friend.[1]

The last scientific observation made by Dr. Spalding was on the 18th of August, 1821, when at the exhumation of the body of Major André, he called the attention of his son, Lyman Dyer, to the curious fact, that the hair on the head and face of André, clean shaven on the day of his death had grown profusely afterward.

Perceiving in September, that he could not recover, Dr. Spalding caused all of his business affairs in New York to be settled honorably, said Good Bye to a few intimate friends, and taking passage on the Sloop "Ten Sisters," Captain Hallett, bound for Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he sailed away, to pass the few days that might be spared to him, with the kind relations of his wife, the children of Captain Peter Coues. He arrived at his old home on the Piscataqua about the 17th of October, and on the 21st, he departed from the scenes of his labors. He had calculated his endurance to a nicety, he had diagnosticated the absolute fatality of his accident and he had lived just long enough to reach his lamenting friends, to greet them once more for a brief day or two, and then to take of them all his last Farewell.

Soon after death, his life-long friend, Dr. Samuel Mitchill, wrote concerning him.

"It is with unfeigned regret that we announce the death of a worthy man and enlightened physician. His mild and amiable character, his ingenuous deportment, and his native zeal and assiduity to maintain the dignity of the Profession, and improve its many branches, will cause many to lament

[1] Dr. Polhemus was born in 1793, studied medicine with Dr. Jacob Outwater of Clarkstown and with Dr. Spalding at Fairfield. After marrying Ellen Outwater, the daughter of his preceptor he practiced in his native town until 1859, when he retired and died in New York, in 1875.

the cessation of his labors; but his intimate friends, alone, knew how pure and disinterested were his motives. He was the Original Projector of our National Pharmacopœia, and aided with unremitting diligence in bringing the work to its present form, but an enfeebled and shattered mind induced by chronic disease, deprived him of the cheering view of the full consummation of his labors, and the Profession of one of its most worthy members."

Many years later, a former patient wrote to the local newspaper upon the anniversary of his death: "Dr. Lyman Spalding was a man whom no one could approach without respect, or leave without affection."

As for me, his grandson, I am glad to have lived to rescue from absolute oblivion, the memory of this genial man: industrious, patient, persevering, he carried out to the end all that he had begun until interrupted by his fatal accident. To medicine in all its branches he gave his life. It seems to me that these letters prove his great ability, and his high gift for human friendliness to all with whom he came in contact. They also prove that he was a capable physician, a skilful surgeon, a fluent writer, an energetic organizer of men, an eloquent lecturer and during the time of his activity in that branch of learning, a remarkable anatomist.

What else can I name him except as one Illustrious in American Medicine: and now after a long, though daily interrupted, study of his eminent career, I regretfully bid him Farewell.

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